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Cover illustration. Jew wearing badge of religious identification. Detail from a fourteenth-century wall painting. Transept, Tarragona Cathedral. Photograph: Mas. (See fig. 1, p. 59.)

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Contributors:

THOMAS C. COCHRAN is Benjamin Franklin Professor Emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania and currently Robert Lee Bailey Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte. A lifelong interest in the application of the social sciences to history has led him to emphasize the place of business in American culture. His most recent books are *Social Change in Twentieth Century America* (New York, 1972), *Business in American Life* (New York, 1972), and *American Business in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

BERNARD S. BACHRACH is associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, and author of *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (University of Minnesota Press, 1972). He received his Ph.D. in 1966 from the University of California, Berkeley, where he worked in early medieval history with F. L. Ganshof and Bryce Lyon. Professor Bachrach's monograph, *A History of the Alans in the West,* will be published by the University of Minnesota Press in the spring of 1973. He is currently working on a history of Anjou during the reign of Fulk Nerra (987–1040).

The article by STEPHEN H. HALICZER that appears in the present issue of the *AHR* represents the beginning of a new stage in the as yet unfinished intellectual biography of the author. It carries forward and completes one aspect of his work on the political history of the first part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella that was begun at St. Andrews University in 1965 and marks the beginning of a major effort to penetrate more deeply into the political structure of the Renaissance monarchy in Castile. The author's next project will be concerned with the gradual decline of the alliance between the monarchy and the Castilian cities that was a direct consequence of the events surrounding the Jewish expulsion.

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History and Cultural Crisis

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

ABOUT 1850 MATTHEW ARNOLD found himself "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." A little later Leo Tolstoy lamented that "the edifice of civil society, erected by the toil and energy of countless generations, is a crumbling ruin." Later still, in 1889, David A. Wells, the prolific American pundit, wrote that the preceding quarter century "will hereafter rank in history as one that has no parallel, but which corresponds in importance with the periods . . . when the whole plane of civilization and humanity rose to a higher level, each great movement being accompanied by social disturbances of great magnitude and serious import."[1]

Clearly there is nothing remarkable in thinkers of the last one hundred years or more seeing the period in which they wrote as one of unusual or critical change, and there probably is a tendency for men to see their own times as unsettled. Yet when we look back over a longer span of history it does seem possible to distinguish between periods of relative cultural stability that fostered continuity and those of social imbalance when basic cultural change occurred with relative rapidity. Proceeding on this assumption, I will offer the proposition that the period from 1960 on has been, and to some unforeseeable point in the future will be, one of unusual social problems and basic readjustments.

Compared to those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the changes now going on in all the industrialized nations of the world appear to involve more of the entire range of social institutions. Science and technology are directly affecting education, sex, work, and income; these influences, in turn, are forcing readjustments in the relations between business, government, and labor. Because pollution is increasing at a rate that could, according to some pessimistic scientists, make our present levels of consumption impossible within less than fifty years, it is bringing

This is a presidential address delivered by Mr. Cochran at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, New Orleans, December 28, 1972.

[1] For the quotation from Arnold, see "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse"; for Tolstoy, see the quotation in David A. Wells, *Recent Economic Change* (New York, 1889), 329; and for Wells's own opinion, see *ibid.*, 465.

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into question the almost universally accepted aim of ever-increasing production. But the "cultural crisis" manifested in disregard for property, in casual brutality, in the use of strong drugs, and in the vocational uncertainty and chronic protest of youth has social and intellectual roots as well as technological ones. Obviously the sanctioning force of some basic institutions has become too weak to assure reasonably predictable and orderly behavior.

Social scientists have, of course, offered a number of reasons for this unstable situation. On the level of pure theory a distinguished anthropologist sees change in behavior as the result of perceived disparity between the cultural dimensions of the system, such as traditional values and beliefs, and the social dimensions, such as roles and institutions; or, more simply, between what we believe and what we are expected to do.[2] Sociologists who have analyzed what they call "the period of cultural crisis" in the 1960s and 1970s find its origin in "the impact of general affluence and large-scale bureaucratic organization on allegiance to the 'Protestant Ethic,' on modes of child-rearing, on sexual identity, on attitudes toward work, property, competition and self-expression."[3]

Since social scientists agree that the discrepancy between values and institutions has been widening over several decades, historical method seems the ideal instrument for analysis.[4] And as data do not speak for themselves, one must select assumptions that can lead to specific and useful hypotheses.[5] The assumption I will use to illuminate the mid-century cultural crisis is that to function adequately, bureaucratic hierarchies have to be supported by shared values—an assumption that will, I feel sure, be regarded as a proper analytical instrument by social scientists. Space being limited I will illustrate the trends chiefly in the institutions of business.

As late as the 1930s dictionaries defined "hierarchy" solely in terms of sacred values or the ordering of related groups in science, but by the late 1960s the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* repeatedly used the term to cover any orderly bureaucracy with lines of authority extending downward from the top. A hierarchy can be high, complex, and loosely structured, like that of the executive branch of the federal government, or low, simple, and closely knit, as in the patriarchal family.[6] Such examples assume ideal types and do not preclude the reality of dominance in policy

[2] See Evon Z. Vogt, "On the Concepts of Structure and Process in Cultural Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, Jan. 1960, pp. 18–33.

[3] Milton Mankoff and Richard Flacks, "The Changing Social Basis of the American Student Movement," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 395 (1971): 62.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Michael Polanyi states this as a rule of logic: "It is impossible to represent the organizing principles of a higher level by the laws governing its isolated particulars." *The Tacit Dimension* (New York, 1966), 36.

[6] For a discussion of the inevitability of hierarchy, see Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (New York, 1950), 140–41.

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making by someone other than the president, or the running of the family by the wife or a horrible child.

Hierarchical orders differ greatly in purpose, authority, and social acceptance. Max Weber noted that "for a jurist a system of authority is either valid or it is not; for the sociologist . . . there is a gradual transition between two extremes of validity and non-validity and it is possible for mutually contradictory systems of authority to coexist validly."[7] This latter situation is particularly well illustrated in present-day societies where democracy and authoritarianism coexist. In any case, voluntary obedience to authority depends upon a belief that the hierarchical control is either essential or morally justifiable. Assumptions of inevitability and rightness are usually blended in the social values that support the demands of a hierarchical order, as, for example, in the minds of those who still voluntarily obey the law.

My historical hypothesis has three main elements: first, the hierarchical orders central to industrial society and their attendant bureaucracies have grown phenomenally in size and impersonality during the twentieth century; second, the initial values that justified them have crumbled away with equally upsetting speed; and third, encouraged partly by the uniformities of mass production and increased economic security, the American antiauthoritarian belief in equality has become stronger. As a result the justification of all structures of authority has been challenged. While the data I have used to illustrate the applicability of this hypothesis are taken from American history, particularly from that of business, similar developments have occurred throughout the industrial world.

Before I turn to the institutions of business, it should be noted that major hierarchies have preindustrial European origins. If national distinctions can be made, one might say that at the beginning of the present century in parts of Europe hierarchy justified by ancient agrarian property relationships was stronger than in the United States, where the major justifications were the "laws of the market" and the Christian religion. Because the pace of change had been relatively slow in earlier times, many people in the nineteenth century could assume that the orders of authority in religion, the family, business, government, and the general social structure accorded with laws of nature, which the devout equated with the laws of God. This assumption made successful resistance immoral and ultimately impossible. God's order would return, just as the self-regulating economic system would always seek equilibrium.

While industrialism, by making for more equal consumption of similar goods and creating a mass rather than a class society, has everywhere placed added weight on equality and democracy, it has, in this respect, probably had its strongest influence in America. One might say that here society adjusted itself to industrialism, while in Europe the new economic forces

[7] Max Weber, *Basic Concepts,* tr. H. P. Secher (New York, 1962), 73.

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were adjusted to a more rigid society. In America the strength of traditional authority, save for the laws of the market, appeared weaker than elsewhere because of the widespread assumption that the Revolution had eliminated the hierarchical heritage of Europe and made political democracy the major national value. Belief in equality was further strengthened because on American soil some of the European orders took different and often less obvious forms: more quickly than in other nations money displaced land as the most widely recognized basis for social prestige, making the "laws of nature" more concerned with the market; the diverse Protestant sects were structurally less hierarchical than the Catholic or Anglican churches; and state and local politics appeared to be more democratic than their provincial counterparts in England or on the Continent.

Yet, in contradiction to ultimate democratizing tendencies, as industrialism progressed new authoritarian systems merged with the old. In the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries American bureaucratic hierarchies grew in both the public school system and in higher education and on all levels of government, while in the twentieth century an enormous military hierarchy arose within, but somewhat separate from, political government. By the 1960s federal bureaucracy had come to seem remote, unapproachable, and slow in adjusting to emerging social issues.

In the conduct of business there had never been any legal doubt regarding the autocratic rights of the proprietor. The good manager established clear lines of authority and expected employees using his property to be his obedient servants. While corporation charters and laws in the nineteenth century vested ultimate authority in the stockholders, control was exercised by a board of directors. And although the directors were usually elected annually, stockholder democracy seldom, if ever, functioned. In fact the directors soon became self-perpetuating trustees exercising absolute authority. In 1950 Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank and one of the sagacious moral leaders of American business, proclaimed the death within the big corporation of even the concept of democracy: "The management of this institution is in the hands of the . . . directors. . . . The stockholders have no right to intervene."[8]

The directors in turn came to be dominated by the men active in management. In some big twentieth-century companies all directors were also managers charged with running the company, and hence they were their own employees. Normally some one or two men at the top of the managerial hierarchy made the ultimate decisions. When Charles Percy of Illinois left a large corporation to become a United States senator he said, "It's a terrible plunge into an icy bath to jump from business, which is essentially an autocracy, into government, which is a democracy."[9]

As the twentieth century went on, some of these bureaucratic autoc-

[8] Quoted in *Time*, Feb. 13, 1950, p. 82.

[9] Quoted in Herman E. Kroos, *Executive Opinion: What Business Leaders Said and Thought on Economic Issues, 1920's–1960's* (Garden City, 1970), 252.

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racies became very large and highly impersonal. General Motors in 1971 had 700,000 employees and perhaps 500 upper-level executives, while Ford had over 400,000 employees and General Electric nearly that many.[10] Another statistic gives a perspective on these figures: the number of employees of state and local governments, other than teachers, averaged just under 100,000 per state.[11] Since many people regard business as America's most powerful and important social institution, the continued growth of such big hierarchies, never adequately justified by democratic concepts, threatened to create severe tensions between social values and social reality.

A remote, impersonal hierarchy may need more justification through widely shared values than does a simpler, more direct agency of control. Yet the major values that underlay the original social acceptance of hierarchical, authoritarian business were weakening or disappearing. In the nineteenth century, development of the country had become a justification or social sanction exerting a religious type of force. There were doubtless more professed atheists than open opponents of rapid economic growth. By the 1840s the ever-higher standard of living had also become part of the cherished "American way of life." Continuing economic growth and distribution of the resulting gains to improve real personal income made the dictatorial character of business acceptable to, at least, the middle class.

But a century later, as European and American productivity increased rapidly, a point was rather suddenly reached when to many Americans these older values no longer seemed sufficient justification for the authority and social power of business. Members of the younger generation who had been reared in relative affluence called for protection of the natural environment from further exploitation and assumed that the economic goal should be, not a higher standard of living, but more even distribution of income. The broad horizons toward which America had led the rest of the world contracted sharply; for a farsighted gaze at a glorious future, the young substituted a more pessimistic, short-range view. In this new age of uncertainty the Calvinist or Protestant ethic increasingly lost its invigorating and sanctioning force.

Similar changes were occurring in the other rich industrial nations, but not with as much force as in the still prosperous and democratically oriented United States. Because of American traditions authority within business shared with other American hierarchies a particular vulnerability to democratic attack. Alongside commitment to God and the development of the country, Americans had been taught to revere the antiauthoritarian words of the Declaration of Independence, the dedication at Gettysburg "to the proposition that all men are created equal," and a myriad of other political pronouncements extolling the power of the people, while in daily life this tradition was reinforced by egalitarian manners in personal relations.

As more and more Americans found employment in business, the con-

[10] *Fortune*, May 1972, p. 191.
[11] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1970* (Washington, 1970), 430.

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tradiction in using the language of freedom and democracy to support essentially undemocratic institutions became increasingly obvious. Peter Levi in Mary McCarthy's *The Birds* believes the whole world is haunted by equality because no society has ever given it a chance, but in none of the other Western nations was the discrepancy of ideal and reality more obvious. Nowhere in the Western world was oligopoly more strongly defended as free enterprise or remote and secretive government more often excused by the needs of freedom and democracy.

In the 1920s particularly, older American values were being eroded by new scientific ideas. Among these were psychological theories that improved morale among workers and lower or "first-line" administrative employees could lead to higher productivity. In the old system of values managerial authority, like parental control, was based on the operation of natural or divine laws, which for managers prescribed that success proved virtue and failure to rise from the lower ranks showed a lack of either intelligence or proper moral qualities. "Democracy" meant not so much equality as an absence of impediments to success. The new psychological insights tended to replace these inexorable mandates of universal law by highly tentative and vulnerable theories of management. By mid-century the interested section of the public came to regard management as largely responsible for the productivity of labor and to occupy its position of authority on the basis of family, influence, superior educational opportunities, and the ability to succeed in an organization rather than on hard work and moral superiority. Such a change in attitude by managers themselves, as well as by their critics, sapped the strength of the traditional justifications for the rigidly authoritarian quality of business hierarchies.

The weakening of the belief that success was self-justifying had profound ramifications outside of business. One was in attitudes toward poverty. Stimulated by the obvious facts that many of the unemployed in the Great Depression were not morally responsible for their plight and that the successful might lack superior virtue, Americans began to shift responsibility for poverty from the poor themselves to the governing social elite. By the late 1950s the concept of poverty had changed from an ineradicable evil that the morally unfit inflicted on themselves to a stigma on the leadership of an affluent society.

Each of the threatened bureaucratic hierarchies has reacted protectively in ways appropriate to its functions. In business the managerial hierarchy losing support from religious or Social Darwinian values has sought new sanctions for its authority in mathematical or other systematic schemes. Turbulence within its ranks has been less obvious than in the more open and public bureaucracies. Except for occasional crises that lead to abrupt changes in management, legislative hearings, or legal action, the managerial problems of corruption, poor morale, and confused leadership are not easily discerned from the outside.

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Dissent from traditional practice in business has taken different forms at different levels. Workers have protested what they considered unjustified, arbitrary treatment by means of absenteeism, wild-cat strikes, or quitting the job in favor of unemployment insurance and relief. Routine work has become less attractive and less necessary for personal support. Another threatening specter is that of the paralyzing work stoppage: it is no longer to be assumed in the leading democracies that the power of either management or government can in fact end a labor dispute in a way that is not damaging to the public interest.

The great increase in higher education from 1947 on, which created a mass intelligentsia for the first time in history, was both a response to business needs and a potential challenge to its authoritarian hierarchy. It not only created new thousands of citizens who, if aroused, had the knowledge necessary to condemn poor business performance, but it also menaced managerial authority and efficiency by filling the larger firms with specialists often more devoted to their field of knowledge than to the company that employed them. In previous times the company had a claim to loyalty on the basis of providing secure careers; now the increasing substitution of computer and other machine-made answers for routine human decisions on the middle level menaces this security—a menace compounded by the gradual shift from manufacturing to service, which has on occasion changed highly educated engineers into motel clerks.

Education also produced a younger and soon a middle generation aware that existing power structures lack justifying values. It was not accidental that the rebellion of students started at the institutions with the highest educational levels, where teaching made most clear the anomalies of society. College graduates seeking jobs in business became more interested than before in the company climate of social relations, in the chance for self-realization, and in other noneconomic aspects of positions.[12] To create better morale as well as to facilitate administration some big companies decentralized decision making and put more emphasis on participation through conferences and committees at all levels. In spite of such gestures toward democracy a big plant executive writes that young managers "question to an 'alarming' degree the amount of authority and control held by top management."[13]

Resulting managerial gestures toward democracy have been somewhat artificial. A team of social scientists from Berkeley studying managerial attitudes in the Western world in the mid-1960s found that "to direct has better connotations than to persuade," that the latter "is closer to making a mistake." "Managers show little faith in the capacity of others for initiative

[12] See Renato Taguiri and George H. Litwin, eds., *Organizational Climate: Exploration of a Concept* (Boston, 1968).

[13] William McNay, "Industrial Management" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972), 173.

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and leadership" and "seem consistently to endorse authoritarian principles, *vis-à-vis* organizational structure." As a portent of possible change, the team found that young, high-level managers in large companies were most likely to be democratic. For themselves, young executives wanted "autonomy and self-actualization."[14] But no one familiar with the history of management can expect such changes to occur easily.

Many graduating seniors have elected not to enter the authoritarian business hierarchy at all, save in the role of specialized advisers. In years when academic and other professional jobs have been reasonably plentiful, corporations have complained loudly of their inability to recruit some of the most promising young men. It still seems too early, however, to see a new level of consciousness in recent career preferences, since they can be explained strictly on the basis of affluence and a more educated assessment of alternatives.

Women and ethnic groups protested against unequal treatment by all the major social bureaucracies, including corporations and labor unions. On the initial levels of hiring, these protests could probably be met through more equitable practices on the part of business, education, labor, and government. But equality throughout the stages of the respective hierarchies posed problems arising from both real circumstances and custom. There were proportionately not as many highly trained blacks or women as there were white males, and hence few or none among the dissatisfied groups might be qualified for a particular upper-level position. In business, especially, there were traditional views that top management should be a team or group able to belong to the same clubs and to develop intimate social relationships. The problems involved here are obvious.

The loss of justification for authority, the decline of morale, and the rise of equalitarian protest could, of course, be illustrated in the history of other major social institutions. The same process of mounting skepticism and loss in the force of generally accepted values covers the whole social panorama from art to organized religion.[15] But perhaps nowhere has the conflict between an old authoritarianism and the new equalitarianism, or its nonacceptance, been more sharp and dramatic than in business management.

Had American business continued to lead the world and been able legitimately to boast of outstanding achievement, it might have better withstood the mounting criticism from both within and without. From 1950 on, however, the rate of growth of the United States gross national product per capita was substantially below the average of Western Europe.[16] This apparently poor performance can be partly explained by the fact that

[14] Mason Haire, Edwin E. Ghiselli, and Lyman Porter, *Managerial Thinking: An International Study* (New York, 1966), 171–74.

[15] See David Mandel, *Changing Art, Changing Man* (New York, 1967), 14–15.

[16] Edward F. Denison, *Why Growth Rates Differ: Post War Experience in Nine Western Countries* (Washington, 1967), 319.

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the United States started from a higher base and a more mature stage of industrialism that emphasized service more and cheap goods less, but it was contributed to by elements that were easy for the public to criticize. For example, a large part of the manufactured product and most developmental research were in industries related to national defense. So while Europe and Japan perfected better ways of making consumer goods, the United States concentrated on planes, missiles, and aerospace. Except for military equipment, American goods began to fail in the competition for world markets.

Since, in spite of the slowing down, the United States in 1972 still had, by a fair margin, the highest level of civilian expenditure and the largest need for cars, trucks, and buses, its automotive industry was the first to come under severe criticism for polluting the environment. To many the automobile had first conquered the nation and then laid it to waste. Cars twice as large and many times as powerful as necessary posed corresponding problems of contamination.

NATIONS MAY HAVE EXISTED for generations with grave social problems and severe imbalances between generally held attitudes and the power structure, although perhaps never for long with so many new hierarchies of all types, so strong an emphasis on democracy, and such a lack of traditional justifying values. In the words of Kenneth Keniston, "Never before had so many who had so much been so deeply disenchanted by their inheritance."[17] Historically "crises" seem usually to occur when previously well-supported institutions undergo pressure from a period of malfunctioning, such as the one that has afflicted the Western world and particularly the United States in the 1960s and 1970s—a period in which it has become clear that greater affluence has failed to cure relative or "psychic" poverty, or necessarily to increase happiness; that democratic slogans have failed to end racial or sexual discrimination; that enlightened governments have failed to control inflation or the business cycle; and—most aggravating of all to American youth—that vast military power has failed to prevent compulsory service in a long and unsuccessful foreign war, which negated traditional morality and trained men to kill.

As violent minority discontent arising at both ends of the social scale became a matter of grave concern, the great majority of Americans, not fully realizing the extent to which they have shared in the loss of values, reacted to preserve existing institutions. Recognizing democracy as the respected common value, those representing hierarchical authority made conciliatory gestures in the form of granting more democratic procedures. Even in the army, the most authoritarian structure, new attention was

[17] Kenneth Keniston, *Youth and Dissent: The Rise of the New Opposition* (New York, 1971), ix.

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paid to complaints from below. In fact permissiveness in the forces engaged in a foreign war reached a point where orders were often disregarded and, on occasion, effective action could not be commanded. *Time,* a journal presumably representative of the opinions of upper-income groups, reported in 1971 that "according to an army study, there may well exist such a profound crisis of discipline that the Army's ability to function is in doubt."[18]

But even if it were to be completely accepted, is democracy or equalitarianism the kind of value or belief that can by itself cure antisocial behavior and loss of social morale? Since some hierarchy seems inevitable in the conduct of human affairs and since equality can never be complete, what is required is the justification of gradations, not the virtual elimination of them. Democracy as commonly practiced is only a process desirable for the realization of fundamental values. A cure for the cultural crisis must be some compelling doctrine that will lead Americans to play their roles with the orderliness necessary for the operation of a good society. Walter Lippmann has called this the need for a public philosophy, but psychologists are inclined to think that, to be effective, new values must attain the force of religious belief. The major tenets of the "religion" may, of course, be secular, such as the biological and psychological improvement of man; they may be concerned with relations between man, society, and nature, as well as with a renewal of emphasis on love, sensitivity, and spirituality.

A colleague has noted that "periods of transition and stress are ill-suited to reflection—and hardly to systematic use of historical or comparative method"; yet unfortunately these are the times in which perspective is most valuable.[19] While not providing clear solutions, any more than do other types of social analysis, historical study indicates the strength and persistence of some of the forces involved in current stress and the anachronistic basis of some strongly asserted positions. By using a system of analysis reaching well back into the past, history can suggest a range of potentially workable solutions for current social problems.

[18] *Time,* Aug. 9, 1971, p. 21.
[19] Charles E. Rosenberg, "Our Medical System," *Science,* May 1972, p. 901.

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A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy, 589–711

BERNARD S. BACHRACH

THE SUFFERING OF THE JEWS in Visigothic Spain during the seventh century has traditionally occupied an important place in the history of the persecution of Jews. Scholars generally agree that the Jews who dwelled in Spain during the last century or so of Visigothic rule were subjected to severe legislation that at times was aimed at limiting their freedom, curtailing their economic capabilities, and ultimately reducing them to slavery. The alleged union of the Church and the Visigothic monarchy under Reccared in 589 is regarded by many as the key event that made possible a century and a quarter of persecution of Jews in Spain. As recently as 1960 Bernhard Blumenkranz maintained that 589 marks the starting point of the most tragic episode in Jewish history during the early Middle Ages. Father Aloysius Ziegler, writing a generation earlier, and E. A. Thompson, in 1969, tend to blame the Visigothic kings for masterminding this lengthy anti-Jewish policy but admit that the Church was not an unwilling partner. Felix Dahn and U. R. Burke in the nineteenth century placed the initiative with the Church and drew conclusions similar to those arrived at by Montesquieu in the eighteenth century. Solomon Katz concludes, "Whether more blame attached to the kings than to the councils is a moot point. . . . for a century and a quarter kings and bishops united in an effort to convert the Jews of Spain or to drive them from the kingdom."[1]

Scholars have differed over the motives for this policy as well as over its sources. Katz tends to consider those monarchs who pursued anti-Jewish policies religious fanatics. Ziegler unhesitatingly characterizes the kings as "fanatically zealous" and seems to believe also that some of them strove to attain an "ideal of religious unity." Yet he also considers it "quite possible that a basic motive of the kings in their persecution of the Jews was avarice." Ziegler's latter observation may have stimulated James Parkes, who,

[1] Bernard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096* (Paris, 1960), 105 ff.; Aloysius K. Ziegler, *Church and State in Visigothic Spain* (Washington, 1930), 197 ff.; E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), 315–16; Felix Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen* (Leipzig, 1885), 6: 437, 442–43, 491–92, 542–45; U. R. Burke, *A History of Spain* (London, 1900), 1: 98; Solomon Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), 11. Katz (pp. 171–78) provides a survey of older works going back to Montesquieu.

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writing four years later, concluded that the sources did not support the argument for economic motivation. Parkes maintained that the Visigoths were motivated by a "religious mania." Thompson, in the most recent study of the Goths in Spain, finds it impossible to ascertain why an anti-Jewish policy was pursued, but concludes: "Whatever the reason for the persecution, it may have contributed to the utter destruction of those who initiated and enforced it."[2]

Some historians have been misled by their sympathy for the Jews, others by hostility to the Church, either because they regard it as intolerant or because they blame it for emasculating the Goths and laying the groundwork that made possible the Muslim conquest.[3] None of these scholars has been able to sort out in a satisfactory manner the respective roles played by the monarchy, the Church, and the Jews in the history of the Visigothic kingdom.

The monarchy in Visigothic Spain was an extremely weak institution. In the 122 years from the conversion of the Visigoths to Orthodox Christianity in 589 to the fall of their kingdom to the Muslims in 711 there were no fewer than eighteen kings (see table) from at least fifteen different families. Seven kings were either deposed or murdered or both, and there were numerous would-be usurpers and pretenders, some of whom held a

VISIGOTHIC KINGS, 586–713

Reccared I, 586–601	*Tulga, 640–42
*Liuva II, 601–03	Chindasuinth, 642–53
*Witteric, 603–10	Recessuinth, 649–72
Gundemar, 610–12	*Wamba, 672–80
Sisebut, 612–21	Erwig, 680–87
*Reccared II, 621	Egica, 687–702
*Suinthila, 621–31	Witiza, 700–10
Sisenand, 631–36	Achila, 710?–13?
Chintila, 636–40	*Roderic, 710–11

* Killed or deposed or both.

[2] Ziegler, *Church and State,* 198; James W. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (London, 1934), 369–70; Katz, *Jews in Spain,* 14, 15; Thompson, *The Goths,* 316. See also José Orlandis, "El Christianismo en el Reino Visigodo," in *I Goti in Occidenti* (*Settimani di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*) (Spoleto, 1956), 3: 168, and Alfonso Echánove, "Precisiones acerca de la legislación conciliar Toledana sobre los Judios," *Hispania Sacra,* 14 (1961): 259–79.

[3] Among those who show sympathy for the Jews are Katz, *Jews in Spain, passim;* Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue,* 347–70; and Thompson, *The Goths, passim.* Katz is essentially correct in noting that Dahn (*Die Könige,* 6) "is critical of the Catholic Church in Spain and is inclined to trace the evils in the Visigothic kingdom to its influence" (p. 173). Burke tends toward the Enlightenment view, which blames the Church for intolerance but also remarks that "the rule of the priest has emasculated the race. . . ." *History of Spain,* 1: 98. R. D. Shaw is sympathetic to this view as well. "The Fall of the Visigothic Power in Spain," *English Historical Review,* 82 (1966): 209–28. Cf. F. X. Murphy, who attacks this interpretation with particular emphasis on the role played by Bishop Julian. "Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain," *Speculum,* 27 (1952): 1–27.

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part of Spain for a time at least and minted coins in their own names.[4] Yet if the Visigothic kings controlled anything within Spain it was the Church. Following the Third Council of Toledo in 589, at which Reccared asserted that the king had responsibility for both temporal and spiritual matters, Visigothic monarchs appointed metropolitans and bishops, called councils and approved their acts, created new dioceses, and redrew the boundaries of already existing ones. The king's court was the court of the last instance in some and perhaps all ecclesiastical cases; the king ordered unqualified laymen to be ordained as priests, he had bishops defrocked, and he exercised power in numerous other ecclesiastical areas.[5]

At the same time the Jewish community, which had been well established on the Iberian peninsula for several centuries before the foundation of the Visigothic kingdom, was rich, large, and influential.[6] It is even likely that Jewish aristocrats continued to hold the rank of senator into the Visigothic period. Jews seem to have been very successful in their missionary activity as well, especially in the period after 589, despite the severe penalties to which both the missionary and the convert were liable under law. (Many Goths who were forced to give up their Arianism by Reccared may have found it more desirable to become Jews than to become Catholics.)[7] Living within Spain in well-ordered communities and maintaining extensive contacts outside of Spain,[8] Jews controlled noteworthy numbers of slaves, engaged in local and long-distance trade on a large scale, owned landed estates, held both military and civilian offices in the Visigothic government, and took part in military activities.[9]

It is in the context of this environment—a weak monarchy, a dependent

[4] Philip Grierson, "Election and Inheritance in Early Germanic Kingship," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 7 (1941): 11–14; R. D. Shaw, "The Fall of the Visigothic Power in Spain," 212. For a recent study of ideas concerning kingship, see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971).

[5] Ziegler, *Church and State*, 126–33; J. N. Hillgarth, "Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain," *Historia*, 15 (1966): 500.

[6] Katz reviews the evidence and supports the general consensus concerning the large numbers of Jews in Roman and Visigothic Spain. *Jews in Spain*, 3–9. Thompson, concluding that Jews were neither very important nor very numerous, finds it difficult to understand why they were the subject of a vastly disproportionate amount of legislation and attention. *The Goths*, 316.

[7] Jean Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* (Paris, 1914), 1: 186 n. 11; 2: 247–48. Although it became illegal for Jews to hold the rank of senator by not later than the mid-fifth century there were grave discrepancies between the letter of the law and real practice during the period of Imperial decline in the West and among the Roman inhabitants of the barbarian kingdoms. William G. Braude demonstrates that it was an active policy among Jews to convert others to their religion during the first five centuries of the Christian era. *Jewish Proselyting* (Providence, 1940), 24–25. The Visigothic legislation of the sixth and seventh centuries suggests that Jews did not change this policy but pursued it vigorously. Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 42–44, 47–48, 50–56. For the background, see Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, 159 ff.

[8] Ziegler is the only scholar who even comes close to providing an accurate estimation of the Jews' position in Visigothic Spain when he writes: "Evidently the Jews were a powerful, aggressive body, propounding their doctrines, eager to proselytize." By limiting his observations to the religious sphere, however, Ziegler misses much of the importance of the Jewish community. *Church and State*, 197.

[9] Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 118–38; Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, 34 ff., 344–52; for background, see Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, 2: 243–79, 291–326; in addition, see E. A. Thompson, "The Barbarian Kingdoms in Gaul and Spain," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 7 (1963): 28–29.

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Church, and a prosperous Jewish community—that the present study will reassess Visigothic Jewish policy by exploring its political aspects. The importance of political considerations, however, can only be established through a detailed account of an almost bewildering succession of monarchs whose policies changed from reign to reign. Any confusion experienced by the reader in trying to follow these violent oscillations in policy and personnel may well be symbolic of the chaos that from 589 to 711 bedeviled the Visigothic realm itself.

THE CLAIM THAT King Reccared initiated Visigothic anti-Jewish policy is based on two pieces of evidence. The more important of these suggests that when Reccared enacted a series of laws for his Gothic subjects that paralleled laws that already applied to his Roman subjects he greatly disadvantaged the Jews. He did so, it is charged, by decreeing that the offspring of a sexual union between a Christian and a Jew were to be baptized.[10] At least one noted scholar has characterized this as "the first but not the last instance in Visigothic Spain of forcible conversion to Christianity." The second piece of evidence is found in a letter written by Pope Gregory I, who praises the king for refusing bribes from Jews.[11]

In examining the charge that Reccared began a policy of forced conversions of Jews it must be noted that according to ancient and medieval Jewish law and custom a child is Jewish only if he is born of a Jewish mother or if he goes through the rites of conversion. If a Christian mistress of a Jewish man gave birth to a child, the offspring would not only be illegitimate but would not even be a Jew. Hence neither we nor Jews in Visigothic Spain could consider such a child who was baptized to have been converted to Christianity by force. By contrast, it seems reasonable for the Church to have been concerned about the spiritual and material welfare of a non-Jewish bastard born of a Christian woman living in sin; widows, orphans, and other unfortunates were generally cared for through ecclesiastical institutions. The illegitimate offspring of the Jewish mistress of a Christian man presents a slightly more ambiguous situation. According to Jewish custom a woman who had willingly and openly gone to live with a non-Jew would have been considered dead by her family and by the Jewish

[10] Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, 106; Jean Juster, "La condition légale des juifs sous les rois visigoths," in *Etudes d'histoire juridiques offertes à Paul-Frédéric Girard* (Paris, 1913), 2: 319; Thompson, *The Goths*, 111. All references to Visigothic Church councils are to G. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (hereafter Mansi) (Florence, 1759–98), with the exception of the Councils of Toledo, which are abbreviated with the number first and followed by Tolet.; e.g., 3 Tolet. refers to the Third Council of Toledo. "Suggerente concilio id gloriosissimus dominus noster canonibus inserendum praecepit, ut judaeis non liceat christianas habere uxores vel concubinas, . . . sed et si qui filii ex tali conjugio nati sunt assumendos esse ad baptisma." 3 Tolet., c. 14.

[11] Thompson, *The Goths*, 111; *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum* (hereafter Gregory I *Epist.*) 9. 228 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [hereafter *MGH*], *Epistolae* 2, pt. 1, ed. L. M. Hartmann [Berlin, 1893]). This letter indicates that Pope Gregory believed that Reccared refused bribes from Jews, but we do not know whether in fact this was so. See below, pp. 15–16.

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community. It was the legal duty of the community to stone her to death if she could be found. If she was not put to death, it is likely that such a woman and her offspring would have had no standing within the Jewish community.[12] In any event, whatever the reaction of the Jewish community, it seems reasonable to assume that problems arising from the baptism of illegitimate offspring of Jewish concubines and Christian men cannot have been of central importance to Judeo-Christian relations during the reign of King Reccared.[13]

If we consider the law concerning baptism of bastards to be of little or no interest to the Jewish community, then Reccared seems to have done no more in his legislation than accept the laws of his Arian predecessors who are generally regarded as having been tolerant. The charges that he initiated a policy of persecution and forced conversion, then, cannot be sustained. Upon an examination of Reccared's reign in perspective, moreover, he seems to have been pro- rather than anti-Jewish. Among the laws promulgated in 506 by Alaric II for his subjects was one decreeing the death penalty for Jews convicted of converting or of attempting to convert Christians to Judaism. Reccared, in his laws, eliminated the death penalty for these offenses.[14] When the provincial synod of Narbonne in 589 passed a host of acts severely injurious to Jews, including a prohibition against the performance of certain of their religious services, Reccared refused to approve the acts.[15] In 597 Pope Gregory I wrote Reccared to call his attention to the fact that Jews at Narbonne, contrary to law, were dealing in Christian slaves and that royal officials were doing nothing about it. Reccared ignored the pope's request that the trade be halted.[16] Most important, Reccared refused to enforce existing laws that in any way disadvantaged the Jews in his kindgom.[17]

Although Reccared seems to have favored the Jews, especially those at Narbonne, some of his subjects in that city, particularly the bishops who dominated the provincial council of 589, were intent upon pursuing a vehemently anti-Jewish policy. Narbonne earlier had been the focal point

[12] Braude, *Jewish Proselyting*, ch. 9. The framers of canon 14 at 3 Toledo (quoted in n. 10) demonstrate a fundamental lack of understanding of Jewish customs. The idea of a marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew, so common today, was inconceivable in early medieval Jewish law. A Jew could marry a convert to Judaism, though the latter was often discriminated against.

[13] The absence of *Responsa* literature from Visigothic Spain on these points makes any conclusion on the reaction of the Hispano-Jewish community to Reccared's law no more than a conjecture. A study of more than three hundred *Responsa* concerning Jews in pre-Crusade Europe indicates that the problems created by the offspring of the Jewish mistresses of Christians were of no great significance. In short, they are not even mentioned. On these *Responsa*, see Irving A. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe* (Leiden, 1965).

[14] Thompson, *The Goths*, 111; cf. Juster, "Condition légale," 308.

[15] *Conc. Narbon.*, canons 4, 9, 14 (Mansi, 9); Thompson, *The Goths*, 112; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 59, 71, 76, 112; Jean Régné, *Etude sur la condition des juifs de narbonne du v^e^ au xiv^e^ siècle* (Narbonne, 1912), 6–8.

[16] Gregory I *Epist.* 7, 21 (*MGH, Epist.* 1, ed. Paul Ewald and L. M. Hartmann [Berlin, 1891]).

[17] 4 Tolet., c. 58. The records of five provincial synods survive from Reccared's reign (Seville 590, Saragossa 592, Toledo 597, Huesca 598, and Barcelona 599), and there were no anti-Jewish acts passed at any of them. See Thompson, *The Goths*, 112.

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of a revolt against Reccared that his army suppressed, and the Jews there may well have supported the king against the rebels. The latter's sympathizers therefore retaliated at the council of 589, but Reccared, knowing who his true friends at Narbonne were, refused to approve the acts of the council. A decade later he again defended the Jews of Narbonne when he refused to succumb to the pressure exerted by the pope to stop the slave trade. Politics and not religion seems to have been the key to Reccared's Jewish policy.[18]

Liuva (601–03), Witteric (603–10), and Gundemar (610–12), Reccared's three immediate successors, continued his policy toward the Jews. They made no effort to enforce the existing anti-Jewish laws and they promulgated no new anti-Jewish laws. At the local level both lay and clerical officials ignored the existing anti-Jewish legislation. In addition, Jews continued to own Christian slaves and hold civil and military positions in which they exercised power over Christians.[19]

When Sisebut succeeded to the Visigothic throne in February or March of 612 he sharply reversed the Jewish policy of his predecessors and sponsored severe anti-Jewish legislation. Sisebut ordered that all Christian slaves be removed from Jewish ownership and that all Christian freedmen be removed from Jewish patronage. He forbade Jews to hire Christian workmen and decreed that all Christian slaves whom the Jews freed and who did not have property of their own were to be given some by their erstwhile owners by July 1, 612, at the latest. Any Jew who still possessed Christian slaves after that date was to have them taken from him by public officials, the slaves were to be freed, and half of the Jew's property was to go to the royal fisc. Sisebut also reversed Reccared's policy on proselytism; he not only restored the death penalty for convicted Jews but also arranged that they would lose their property, which would then go to the royal fisc. Christians who had previously been converted to Judaism were required to become Christians once again; those who refused were to be whipped in public, have their heads shaven, and were to be made slaves of men chosen by the king. All Jews who were wed to Christians who had converted to Judaism were to convert to Christianity or go into exile outside of the kingdom. Slaves who were born from the union of a Jew and a Christian who had converted to Judaism were to be considered Christians. Jews were to be expelled from governmental positions in which they exercised power over Christians.[20]

When Sisebut realized that his anti-Jewish policy was not being enforced,

[18] Thompson, *The Goths*, 103; cf. Franz Görres, "König Rekared der Katholische und das Judentum (586–601)," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 41 (1891): 284–96.

[19] 4 Tolet., c. 58; *Leges Visigothorum* (hereafter *LV*) 12. 2. 13 (*MGH, Leges* 1, ed. Karl Zeumer [Hanover, 1902]). Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 11; Franz Görres, "Die Religionspolitik des Westgotenkönigs Witterich (reg. 603–610)," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 41 (1898): 102–05; Thompson, *The Goths*, 157–61.

[20] *LV* 12. 2. 13, 14. Thompson, *The Goths*, 165–67.

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he attempted to bring about the forced conversion of all Jews in the Visigothic kingdom. Among those we know to have been driven to the baptismal font were important men like Rabbi Isaac of Toledo and Levi Samuel, the head of the synagogue *(archisynagogus)* in the same city. Many other Jews fled into exile to avoid forced conversion.[21]

In attempting to ascertain why Sisebut reversed the Jewish policy of his Catholic predecessors, scholars have advanced three hypotheses: religious piety, greed, and the demands of foreign policy. The last-mentioned, which has met with the least acceptance, suggests that Sisebut attempted to ingratiate himself with the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, who is known to have pursued an anti-Jewish policy. By supporting a Byzantine-inspired anti-Jewish policy in Spain Sisebut hoped to bring the Empire and the Visigothic kingdom into peaceful relations and secure an end to more than half a century of hostilities. This interpretation of Sisebut's motives, however, finds no support in the sources. Sisebut initiated his anti-Jewish policy very soon after coming into power in 612, and he did not come to an agreement with the Byzantines until 616. In the interval of four years the Byzantine and Visigothic armies fought several bloody battles against one another. Heraclius, moreover, began his policy in 632 and acted against the Jews well after Sisebut had left the scene.[22]

The contention that Sisebut's strong religious feelings led him to attempt to eliminate Judaism from Spain has received wider support than the foreign-policy hypothesis. It is certainly true that Sisebut took a strong proprietary interest in the Church, that he appointed bishops, that he admonished the clergy from time to time, and that he wrote a *Life of Saint Desiderius of Vienne*.[23] But Sisebut's venture into hagiography does not reflect the pious intent usually associated with such a work. Desiderius had been killed in about 606 or 607 at the order of the Merovingian king, Theuderic II, and his grandmother, Queen Brunhilde, who had also long been enemies of the Visigothic monarchy. Sisebut used the *Vita* to attack these enemies while praising Desiderius. In short, it is more a work of anti-Merovingian political propaganda than one of religious veneration.[24] The irony, from the religious point of view, is even more illuminating, since Brunhilde was originally an Arian Visigothic princess who had converted to the Orthodox persuasion some two decades before Reccared's conversion brought Orthodoxy to Spain as the official religion.

[21] Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 12–13, 25; Thompson, *The Goths*, 166–68.

[22] Hillgarth ("Coins and Chronicles," 500 n. 6), Ziegler (*Church and State*, 190), and Thompson (*The Goths*, 166) all argue against Byzantine influence on Sisebut's policy. Cf. Paul Goubert, "Administration de l'Espagne Byzantine," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 4 (1946): 120.

[23] Thompson argues that "Sisebut's Christian piety" was the motivating force in the formulating of his anti-Jewish policy. *The Goths*, 165. Ziegler, *Church and State*, 92.

[24] *Vita vel Passio Sancti Desiderii a Sisebuto Rego composita (MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 3, ed. Bruno Krusch [Hanover, 1896]). Thompson notes that Sisebut's "*Life* of St. Desiderius of Vienne is a competent work of hagiography and also of political propaganda. . . ." *The Goths*, 163.

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We also have a letter to the Lombard king, Adaloald, from Sisebut in which the Visigothic monarch provides evidence that he views religion in political terms. Sisebut points out, among other things, the great material advantages that accrue to the Orthodox Christian king. This letter has been called a "trifle cynical" by one modern scholar, especially "the appeal to self-interest when Sisebut goes on to draw the moral from the *locus classicus* for Petrine authority, St. Matthew 16:18–19."[25] Sisebut's use of religion for political purposes, his appointing of bishops, his building of churches, and his admonitions to the clergy seem to be motivated largely by reasons of state, which is to say, the strengthening of his position. His anti-Jewish policy was, in addition, opposed by the most important cleric in Spain, Isidore of Seville, and it was not approved by a Church council.[26] Sisebut's reputation for piety seems to have been exaggerated and hardly sufficient to motivate a major policy change toward the powerful Jewish faction.

Those scholars who suggest that Sisebut's pursuit of an anti-Jewish policy was motivated by greed cite the economic gain to the Crown that resulted from his legislation.[27] But if we examine this legislation carefully we find that the Crown seems to have obtained relatively little direct economic gain from it. Jews who converted to Christianity were not subject to economic sanctions. If the Jews complied with the laws requiring them to give up their Christian slaves, the royal fisc still gained nothing directly, and it gained indirectly only if the newly freed slaves became productive taxpaying subjects. The Crown benefited from slaveholding Jews only when they refused to free their Christian slaves, whereupon the king could free the slaves and confiscate half of the offenders' remaining property. The fisc would also gain from property that would revert to it when Jews were convicted of converting Christians to Judaism. Those converts who refused to return to the Church were to be enslaved, and the king, empowered to select their owners, gained valuable property to give to his supporters. The monarch, then, benefited economically only if the anti-Jewish laws were not obeyed. Moreover, if Sisebut's motivation was economic, it seems that his policy was unnecessarily tortuous and less than efficient. First, the violation of the law had to be encouraged—hardly a useful precedent, even when violators are, though in this case they were not, popularly viewed as cancers of society; second, the royal fisc gained only marginally and indirectly when these laws were disobeyed; and third, more efficient means, such as those devised by later Visigothic kings to benefit the Crown economically through the exploitation of Jews, were available, though not employed by Sisebut.

[25] Sisebut *Epist.* 9 (*Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi* 1, *Epist.* 3, pt. 1, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach [Berlin, 1892]); Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship*, 30; cf. Thompson, *The Goths*, 163.

[26] See Ziegler, *Church and State*, 190, for Isidore's opposition to the policy of forced conversions.

[27] Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, 370–71; cf. Ziegler, *Church and State*, 190, 198.

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Since we cannot put much faith in piety, greed, and peace as motives for Sisebut's anti-Jewish policy, it seems reasonable to examine the nature of Visigothic politics as a motivating force for his actions. When Sisebut promulgated his anti-Jewish legislation and reversed the policy pursued by his three immediate predecessors, he did so with the advice and support of the palace *officium*. No mention is made of consultation with the Church or with any individual bishops. Sisebut never sought not did he ever receive the approval of a Church council for this legislation.[28] Not only did Isidore of Seville, whose own anti-Jewish sentiments are well documented, oppose Sisebut's policy, but there was significant opposition from both religious and lay segments of the society. In many areas the anti-Jewish laws simply were ignored. In Toledo, where Bishop Aurasius actually carried out forced baptisms, Froga, the count of the city, opposed him. This opposition led to violence, and the bishop's letter excommunicating the count still survives.[29]

Further study of Sisebut's anti-Jewish legislation suggests that it was the king's policy to weaken the political influence of the Jewish community by striking a blow at its economic strength. As Jewish slaveowners were deprived of their Christian slaves, those Jews who were engaged in the slave trade were severely handicapped if not put out of business entirely, while Jews who owned large estates that were worked primarily by Christian slave labor were so disadvantaged that they would have found difficulty in continuing to function. Sisebut's attempt to prohibit Jews from hiring Christian laborers was probably aimed at keeping Jewish landowners from employing the newly freed men and maintaining business almost as usual.

By legislating the freedom of all Christian slaves owned by Jews, Sisebut probably hoped to create a class of people whose interest lay in supporting the king against their former owners, a policy that resembles in many ways the one followed by Bishop Agobard of Lyons in the ninth century.[30] Sisebut's anti-Jewish laws, devised solely with the support and advice of his palace staff and introduced shortly after he came to power, were opposed by many churchmen and noteworthy lay officials like Count Froga of Toledo and Isidore of Seville. Sisebut's later policy of conversion or exile was one of desperation and an admission that his earlier legislation had failed. It seems reasonable to suggest that Sisebut reversed the Jewish policy of his predecessors because, in the traditional struggle for power that accompanied the succession to the Visigothic throne, the Jews opposed him. Just as the Jews in Spain benefited when they supported Reccared, the winner, in 589, they suffered when they opposed the winner, Sisebut, in 612.

[28] Thompson, *The Goths*, 166; Ziegler, *Church and State*, 190.

[29] Aurasius *Epist.* 20 (ed. Gundlach: *MGH, Epist.* 3, pt. 1); *LV* 12. 2. 15; Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, 355; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 34; Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, 61; cf. Thompson, *The Goths*, 166.

[30] Arthur J. Zuckerman, "The Political Uses of Theology: The Conflict of Bishop Agobard of Lyons," *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 3 (1970): 23–51.

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In medieval Jewish tradition Suinthila, who succeeded Sisebut in 621, is regarded as a good and tolerant monarch.[31] Suinthila did not enforce Sisebut's anti-Jewish laws and encouraged Jews who went into exile to return. Those Jews who had been converted by force and who wanted to return to their former religious practices were not harassed for their apostasy; some Jews were even employed in governmental posts. We do not know why Suinthila reversed Sisebut's policy and returned to what had been the traditional policy of the Visigothic kings, but it may be conjectured that Suinthila deposed Sisebut's son Reccared II, who survived his father by only a few days, and consequently found support among the Jews who had been the enemies of his predecessor.[32] In addition, Suinthila presumably would not have wanted to follow a policy that had been the manifest failure that Sisebut's had been.

After ruling for a decade, however, Suinthila was overthrown by a noble named Sisenand, whose success was due essentially to Frankish aid and to the defection of Suinthila's brother Geila. Opposition to Sisenand was fierce. Geila conspired against him, and in the south a certain Iudila ruled as *rex* for some time and even issued coins in his own name. In his short reign (631–36) Sisenand returned to the anti-Jewish policy of Sisebut, although unlike Sisebut, Sisenand obtained the support of the Church for his program. Jews and persons born of Jewish parents were once again prohibited from holding public offices in which they exercised power over Christians. Suinthila in reversing Sisebut's policy had once again begun to use Jewish officials, as noted above, and Sisenand in returning to Sisebut's policy sought to eliminate all Jewish officials in government. Officials who did not dismiss Jews who had gained such public offices and officials who appointed Jews to positions of governmental power were liable to excommunication. Sisenand also struck at Jewish slave traders who dealt in Christian slaves and reaffirmed Sisebut's legislation in these matters.[33]

From the political point of view Sisenand tried to bring about the dejudification of the government, and from the economic point of view he sought to weaken the fiscal strength of the Jewish community. Sisenand's approach to purely religious matters was not innovative. He did, however, oppose forced conversions, although those who had converted were not permitted to apostasize, and the evils of proselytism in all its ramifications were handled in the traditional manner.[34] It is important to note, however,

[31] 4 Tolet., canons 57, 59, 65; Thompson, *The Goths*, 178; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 13, 50, 75; Juster, "Condition légale," 280; Franz Görres, "Die Religionspolitik des spanischen Westgotenkönigs Swinthila, des ersten katholiken 'Leovigild' (621–631)," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 49 (1908): 253–66; cf. Ziegler, *Church and State*, 190.

[32] Cf. Thompson, *The Goths*, 168. This is only a conjecture, but Isidore, who recounts Suinthila's accession, completed a history of the Goths while that king was still on the throne. For Isidore's account, see Isidore *Historia Gothorum*, chs. 61–65 (*MGH, Auctores antiquissimi* [hereafter *AA*] 11, ed. Theodor Mommsen [Berlin, 1894]).

[33] 4 Tolet., canons 65, 66, 59, 63, 62, 64; Thompson, *The Goths*, 178–79; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 13, 50, 118.

[34] Thompson, *The Goths*, 178–79; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 13.

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that both the king and the council were aware that the revival of Sisebut's anti-Jewish policy would meet with strong opposition. It was expected that simple clerics and even bishops, as well as laymen both in and outside the government, would continue to pursue pro-Jewish policies. Hence it was decreed that those who chose to follow this course would be anathematized and excommunicated.[35] Sisenand came to power through a revolt, and his short reign was wracked by civil wars. At least two of the uprisings against him were carried out by supporters of his predecessor's general policies, including those concerning favorable treatment of the Jews. But it would have been strange indeed if Sisenand had not pursued an anti-Jewish policy after overthrowing the pro-Jewish Suinthila.

When Chintila succeeded Sisenand in 636 Chintila immediately summoned the Fifth Council of Toledo. Gallia Narbonensis seems to have been in revolt at the time, and the council was called by a king who "at the earliest possible moment tried to protect himself, his family, and his *fideles* to the best of his feeble ability" by having the Church call down upon the heads of would-be usurpers and rebels the curses of divine vengeance. The Fifth Council, however, did not accomplish Chintila's aims, and eighteen months later he summoned the Sixth Council of Toledo. In the period intervening between these meetings violence continued to disturb the realm. *Refugae,* men who sought foreign aid against the king, are mentioned as having been active in Chintila's reign; important men were imprisoned for opposing Chintila, and other opponents fled into exile.[36]

Throughout Chintila's short reign Spain was torn by civil wars, and he used both the Fifth and Sixth Councils of Toledo to promulgate legislation for the purpose of deterring and punishing rebels.[37] In this context Chintila's anti-Jewish acts, which were supported by the Sixth Council, can be seen as part of his general policy of repression of those who opposed him. As Sisenand's legitimate successor and the heir to his palace *officium,* Chintila was very probably opposed by the Jews who had suffered under his predecessor's anti-Jewish policy. Hence Chintila saw to the reaffirmation of the anti-Jewish *acta* of the Fourth Council of Toledo by which Jewish officials were expelled from governmental service and Jewish slaveowners were expropriated. This policy of governmental dejudification and crippling of the economy of the Jewish community was a continuation of Sisenand's unsuccessful policies. In fact, Pope Honorius I wrote to the Sixth Council in 638 accusing the bishops and clergy of Spain of not enforcing the anti-Jewish laws that had already been enacted.[38]

[35] 4 Tolet., c. 58; see the discussion by Thompson, *The Goths,* 179.

[36] Thompson, *The Goths,* 181–82.

[37] *Ibid.,* 183–84.

[38] The pope's letter has not survived, and all we have is Bishop Braulio's answer to it. *Epist.* 21 (Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* [hereafter *PL*] [Paris, 1844–45], 80: cols. 667–70). See C. H. Lynch, *Saint Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (631–651)* (Washington, 1938), 55–56, 100–02, 131–32, 145–47; Dahn, *Die Könige,* 6: 641–50; and Thompson, *The Goths,* 184–85.

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Chintila was instrumental in getting the Sixth Council to decree that henceforth only Catholics were to remain in Visigothic Spain. Jews were either to convert or to emigrate. Chintila further required those Jews who accepted baptism to sign a document (*placitum*) in which they renounced their beliefs and promised to abstain from Jewish rites and practices—such as worship on Saturday and circumcision; they were to give up all of their holy writings and to stone to death any convert who failed to be a true Catholic.[39] Unfortunately, little can be ascertained from contemporary sources about the success of Chintila's anti-Jewish policy during his three-year reign; nor is anything known of the reign of his young son Tulga, who succeeded Chintila in 640 only to be deposed shortly thereafter by the pro-Jewish king, Chindasuinth. But we do know that during the decade or so that ended with Tulga's overthrow the kings were faced with several major and many minor revolts (some of which were supported by foreign aid).

To recapitulate briefly: Suinthila, after succeeding the anti-Jewish Sisebut—perhaps by murdering his son—pursued a pro-Jewish policy, and Sisenand after overthrowing Suinthila pursued an anti-Jewish policy. At least some of the revolts against Sisenand were led by those who were supporters of Suinthila's policies. A supporter of Sisenand, Chintila pursued his predecessor's anti-Jewish policies, and there were revolts against Chintila as well. Tulga, Chintila's son, was overthrown by Chindasuinth, who pursued a pro-Jewish policy.[40]

E. A. Thompson is probably correct, however, when he concludes, "It will hardly be thought that the storms of these years centered on the position and liberties of the Jews in Spain. It is safest to think that the conspiracies were the outcome of the rival ambitions of different Gothic noblemen."[41] Yet, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the Jews, as a formidable faction on the Visigothic scene, were supporters of Suinthila and Chindasuinth and were opposed to Sisebut, Sisenand, Chintila, and Tulga. The violent nature of the Visigothic royal succession strongly suggests that, for example, a noble like Chindasuinth who sought to overthrow the dynasty of Chintila would first try to obtain the support of the Jewish party that suffered under the policies of that dynasty. Therefore, while the issue of Jewish "liberties" was very probably not a *casus belli* for the various Gothic noblemen who sought to seize the throne, the position of the Jewish faction may well have been an important factor in determining the nature of the Jewish policy pursued by the king, whether he was a successful rebel or a legitimate monarch.

When the aged Chindasuinth seized power in 642 he put to death several

[39] 4 Tolet., c. 3; *LV* 12. 2. 17; 3. 14, 15. For the text of the *Placitum*, see Dahn, *Die Könige*, 6: 650–53; also see the discussion by Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 14; Lynch, *Bishop Braulio*, 130; and Thompson, *The Goths*, 186.

[40] Thompson, *The Goths*, 196 ff.

[41] *Ibid.*, 188–89.

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hundred influential Goths who at one time or another had taken part in revolts. Many other rebels were forced into exile, their property confiscated, and the death penalty was decreed for future traitors. Chindasuinth "showed no enthusiasm for persecuting the Jews," however. He reversed Chintila's anti-Jewish policy and returned to Suinthila's policies. Chindasuinth did not enforce the decree that Jews in Spain either were to convert to Christianity or to emigrate; he in fact used Jews in governmental positions. The one apparently anti-Jewish measure adopted by Chindasuinth was his decree that the death penalty be applied to Christians who practiced Jewish rites. In this Chindasuinth seems to have been taking defensive action to halt conversions. What is perhaps most amazing is that Judaism still held such a powerful attraction for Christians despite the anti-Jewish policies of kings like Sisebut, Sisenand, and Chintila.[42]

In the search for a motive to explain Chindasuinth's abandonment of Chintila's policy, it should be remembered that Tulga, Chintila's son and successor, was overthrown by Chindasuinth. If supporters of the young king Tulga can be assumed to have preferred the policies of his father, Chindasuinth can be considered to have been a natural rallying point for Jews as well as for others who opposed the faction in power. It might be hypothesized that Chindasuinth found it necessary to legislate against the Christians who were being converted because the Jews had gained such prominence and power that their missionary work was very successful. In this regard, it is important to note that Chindasuinth was taking action against Christians who were being converted to Judaism and not against Jews who were converting Christians.[43]

Reccesuinth, who was associated as king with his father Chindasuinth in 649, ruled alone after the old monarch died in 653. While little information survives concerning Reccesuinth's long reign, which ended in 672, we know that revolts followed upon his succession and that he crushed them. His reorganization of the administrative machinery of the Visigothic kingdom strongly suggests that he had strained relations with at least some Roman elements of the population; the remarks of ecclesiastics suggest that he was not popular with some of the clergy; and his anti-Jewish legislation can be taken to mean that his relations with the Jews were far from cordial. It is therefore hardly surprising that the meagre sources indicate that his reign was not blessed with peace and prosperity.[44]

Reccesuinth's great accomplishment was completion of the revision of the laws of the Visigothic kingdom that had been begun by his father. Though he seems to have been dedicated to his father's policy of a revision

[42] *Ibid.*, 190–99; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 14–15; Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, 358; Juster, "Condition légale," 282; see also *LV* 12. 2. 16.

[43] *LV* 12. 2. 16. According to Thompson, "His aim was to prevent proselytism. . . ." *The Goths*, 196–97. The Seventh Council of Toledo, which Chindasuinth called in 646, took no action against the Jews and did not even reaffirm the anti-Jewish acts of the Fourth Council. See also Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 14; cf. Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, 359.

[44] Thompson, *The Goths*, 199–217.

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of the laws, he reversed Chindasuinth's policies in many other areas. At the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653 he denounced the Jews for polluting the soil of Spain, and at his urging the acts concerning Jews that had been passed at the Fourth Council were reaffirmed. Reccesuinth, however, went beyond this in pursuing an anti-Jewish policy. The thrust of the ten laws he enacted concerning Jews was to make it impossible for a Jew to remain in Spain, and anyone who practiced Jewish rites or celebrated Jewish rituals was to be executed.[45] Some scholars, suggesting that a distinction can be made between practicing and nonpracticing Jews, conclude that it was a capital crime only to be a practicing Jew, while other scholars believe that Reccesuinth's laws are explicit on the point that anyone who "in his heart" has even the slightest doubts about the Catholic faith must go into exile. Second, Reccesuinth decreed that unless explicitly repealed all pre-existing anti-Jewish laws were to be enforced. Chintila's law that all Jews must either convert or go into exile was therefore still in force. It seems reasonable to conclude with Parkes, then, that "without saying so in so many words, Reccesuinth forced all Jews who remained in Spain to accept conversion."[46]

Reccesuinth's anti-Jewish policy, however, met with strong opposition. In 655, very shortly after his anti-Jewish policy became law, the Ninth Council of Toledo took up the problem of Christians who connived with Jews to resist the new laws.[47] The reaffirmation of the penalties and admonitions that resulted from the Ninth Council did not have its desired effect. In 656 Reccesuinth called the Tenth Council of Toledo and produced evidence that large numbers of clerics were still selling Christian slaves to Jews. The religious penalties calling for excommunication and anathema and the economic penalties calling for the confiscation of up to one quarter of the lands of anyone who violated the laws that were passed to keep people from supporting the Jews seem to have been ineffective. Not only did Reccesuinth's laws apparently fail to destroy the Jewish community, but the Jews seem to have been carrying on business as usual in the many areas where the king's power did not reach.[48] For example, from all of Gallia—where, it should be emphasized, Jews were an important element on the political scene—and Tarraconensis only Bishop Quiricius of Barcelona attended the Tenth Council.[49]

In trying to discover why Reccesuinth reversed his father's policies toward the Jews, scholars like Katz have labeled Reccesuinth "fanatical in the extreme."[50] Yet the continuator of Isidore's chronicle, writing after

[45] 8 Tolet., *Tomus;* canons 10, 12 (for a later edition of the *Tomus*, see *LV*); *LV* 12. 2. 2–11. Katz, *Jews in Spain,* 15–16; Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue,* 359–62; Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens,* 331–33; Ziegler, *Church and State,* 193; Thompson, *The Goths,* 206–07.

[46] Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue,* 360–61.

[47] 9 Tolet., c. 17.

[48] 10 Tolet., c. 7. Juster recognizes that the wealth of the Jewish community, "la force de l'argent des persécutés," was a factor in their successful avoidance of the law. Yet Juster does not grasp the overall importance of the Jews as a faction on the political scene. "Condition légale," 291; see also Thompson, *The Goths,* 208–09.

[49] Thompson, *The Goths,* 208; Zuckerman, "Agobard," 23–51.

[50] Katz, *Jews in Spain,* 15.

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the king's death, characterizes him as "easygoing" and "debauched," hardly the traits commonly associated with a religious fanatic.[51] If, however, we view Reccesuinth's change of his father's Jewish policy in its political context there is little need to resort to such characterizations. For example, Reccesuinth reversed his father's policy concerning those who had been supporters of Chintila and Tulga. Whereas Chindasuinth ruthlessly crushed their supporters, Reccesuinth granted pardons.[52] He favored men whom his father had driven out, men who had helped to formulate and enforce Chintila's anti-Jewish policy. It is hardly surprising therefore that he, too, took an anti-Jewish position.

Another probable factor in the formulation of Reccesuinth's anti-Jewish policy was his close association with Bishop Braulio of Saragossa (d. 651) and his followers. As the leader of a powerful faction in the Visigothic Church Braulio had taken the initiative in trying to persuade King Chindasuinth that he should violate canon 75 of the Fourth Council of Toledo and associate Reccesuinth with him in the kingship.[53] Reccesuinth perhaps owed a debt to a faction among the clergy that had been led by Braulio, a bishop who had pursued a consistent anti-Jewish policy. It is instructive in this context to note that Braulio had edited Reccesuinth's revision of the Visigothic Code (649–51), and although we have no way of ascertaining the bishop's specific suggestions it is not unreasonable to assume that he took a hard line against the Jews.[54]

Bishop Eugenius II of Toledo, who had been a student and close friend of Braulio, was an important adviser to Reccesuinth, and some scholars suggest that he had the task of putting the revision of the Visigothic laws into final form. Yet this same Eugenius wrote an epitaph for Chindasuinth describing him as "impious, obscene, and guilty of every manner of crime," which might suggest that Reccesuinth, who was close to Eugenius, was not overly partial to King Chindasuinth.[55]

Reccesuinth also maintained a close connection with Bishop Taio, Braulio's supporter and successor as bishop of Saragossa. Curiously, and perhaps by coincidence, no sooner did Chindasuinth die than a revolt broke out in the region of Saragossa. Taio, who was loyal to Reccesuinth, was besieged in the city until the king appeared with an army and crushed the rebels. The connection of Braulio, Eugenius, Taio, and King Reccesuinth with

[51] "Licet flagitiosum, tamen bonimotum filium." *Continuatio Hispana,* ch. 35 (*MGH, AA* 11 [Berlin, 1894]). Cf. Thompson, who translates the above as "amiable and debauched." *The Goths,* 199.

[52] Thompson, *The Goths,* 200–01.

[53] Braulio *Epist.* 37 (*PL,* 80: cols. 684–85); cf. Thompson, *The Goths,* 198.

[54] Lynch, *Bishop Braulio,* 131–40; Thompson, *The Goths,* 201; Braulio *Epist.* 38–40 (*PL,* 80: cols. 685–86).

[55] "Chindasuinthus ego noxarum semper amicus, / patrator sceleruni Chindasuinthus ego. / inpius obscaenus, probrosus turpis iniquus, / optima nulla volens, pessima cuncta valens / omnia commisi, peius et inde fui." *Eugenii Toletani Episcopi Carmina* 25 (*MGH, AA* 14, ed. Frideric Vollmer [Berlin, 1905]). Thompson forcefully rejects Vollmer's suggestion that "the poet wrote this scurrilous epitaph at the King's own request and that it is nothing more than a monument of the old sinner's repentance." *The Goths,* 199. See also Lynch, *Bishop Braulio,* 137.

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the pardoning of those who had been supporters of Chintila, the denigration of Chindasuinth's memory, the drawing up of the Visigothic Code, and the reversal of Chindasuinth's policies toward the Jews would seem to suggest that political factionalism and not religious fanaticism motivated Reccesuinth's anti-Jewish policies. Additional support for this hypothesis may be found in the failure of the legislation he promulgated and the support the Jews received from both clerics and laymen. Not only did clerics connive to thwart Reccesuinth's laws, but relatively few bishops attended the councils. The Ninth Council of Toledo was in fact no more than a regional synod and the Tenth Council was attended by only seventeen bishops and the representatives of five others[56] (as compared, for example, with the Third Council in 589, which had been attended by seventy-two bishops or their deputies).

At Reccesuinth's death, Wamba succeeded to the Visigothic throne and like most of his predecessors he found it necessary to fight to keep his newly acquired crown. In the spring of 673, while he was campaigning against the Basques, a serious revolt (led by Count Childeric of Nîmes) broke out in Septimania. Wamba sent Duke Paul to put down the revolt, but the latter instead developed a plan to ursurp the throne. To this end he won over Ranosind, the governor of Tarraconensis. The Jews of Narbonne sided with the rebels and seized control of the city by driving out Bishop Argebad, who had been a loyal supporter of Reccesuinth and remained a supporter of his successor. But when Wamba's forces retook Narbonne the Jews were expelled from the city at royal command.[57]

The importance of the Jews of Narbonne in the struggle for power in the Visigothic kingdom was clear to King Reccared as early as 589. Julian, the archbishop of Toledo (680–90), maintained that the Jews in Gaul were not persecuted and lamented that Gaul was "a brothel of blaspheming Jews." In the revolt against Wamba, the only such episode about which we are relatively well informed, the Jews played an important political and military role; Duke Paul chose the city for his coronation and capital.[58] This time, however, the Jews did not support the royal faction. Wamba had been the legitimate successor of Reccesuinth, and the Jews probably expected him to carry on his predecessor's anti-Jewish policy when they followed their apparent self-interest and opposed him. The military action taken by the Jews of Narbonne reinforces the impression that "la force de

[56] Thompson, *The Goths*, 199–200, 208.

[57] *Historia Wambae Regis auctore Iuliano Episcopo Toletano*, chs. 5–11, 13, 15, 26, 28; *Insulatio in tyrannidem Galliae*, ch. 5; *Iudicium in tyrannorum perfidiam promulgatum*, chs. 2–4 (*MGH, Scr. rer. Merov.* 5, ed. Wilhelm Levison [Hanover, 1910]); Lucas of Tuy, *Liber de historia Galliae*, ch. 6 (*PL*, 96: col. 767). On this last text, see Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 16–17 n. 8, and also, in a more general vein, Thompson, *The Goths*, 219–31.

[58] Julian *Insulatio*, chs. 1, 2; *Hist.*, ch. 5; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 17; Thompson, *The Goths*, 220, 228. On the general topic of capitals in the early Middle Ages, see Eugen Ewig, "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Âge," *Revue historique*, 230 (1963): 25–72.

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l'argent" was not the only power wielded by the Jewish faction in Visigothic politics.

Wamba, however, was not a religious fanatic, and his appreciation of the power of the Jewish community apparently led him to a rapprochement with them. The Jews of Narbonne were allowed to return to their city, where for a long time afterward they continued to be a dominant force. Wamba in addition did not enforce the existing anti-Jewish laws, and at the councils that met during his reign the Jewish question was not discussed.[59]

Count Erwig succeeded Wamba as king and promptly initiated an anti-Jewish policy. In the very short period of time from his accession on October 21, 680, to the opening of the Twelfth Council of Toledo on January 9, 681, Erwig drew up twenty-eight anti-Jewish laws. The laws of Reccesuinth were reaffirmed and to them compulsory baptism was added. Now penalties for infractions of the law included loss of property, exile, and severe physical punishment—such as beatings and castration—but these punishments replaced the death penalty, which had been decreed by Reccesuinth for even minor infractions like performing a circumcision or refusing to eat pork.[60]

Of equal importance were Erwig's efforts to deter his enemies from providing protection and support for Jews. Bishops and abbots who had employed and were continuing to employ Jews as agents to administer ecclesiastical estates were warned that they had better stop the practice. Bishops convicted of having sexual relations with Jewish women were to be defrocked and sent into exile. Ecclesiastical and secular officials who failed to enforce Erwig's anti-Jewish laws were liable for a fine of seventy-two solidi for each offense they ignored. Anyone who accepted a bribe for not reporting a Jew who broke these laws was also liable for a fine.[61] As part of the dejudification process every Jew was required to sign a statement abjuring Judaism and pledging devotion to Christianity, and these statements were to be placed in the archives of churches in areas where new converts dwelled.[62] It should be noted that none of the statements have survived and that this may suggest that there was a lack of widespread enforcement of Erwig's anti-Jewish policy; we also know that as late as 694 Jews still owned Christian slaves and carried on business as usual.[63]

A clue to why Erwig chose to pursue a vigorous anti-Jewish policy may be found in the unorthodox manner in which he succeeded to the throne. On October 14, 680, Wamba was taken ill and "while unconscious was, ac-

[59] Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 148–51; Thompson, *The Goths*, 248; Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, 10 ff; cf. Ziegler, *Church and State*, 194; see also Zuckerman, "Agobard," 23–51.

[60] *LV* 12. 3. 1–28; Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, 362–65; Thompson, *The Goths*, 234–37.

[61] *LV* 12. 3. 10, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25; Thompson, *The Goths*, 236–37; Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, 365–66.

[62] *LV* 12. 3. 28.

[63] 17 Tolet., c. 8. Thompson, *The Goths*, 247–48.

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cording to the current custom, made a penitent—tonsured and clothed in penitential garb." When Wamba recovered he learned that since he had been tonsured he could no longer reign and that Erwig had succeeded him. Erwig then called the Twelfth Council of Toledo, where his succession was confirmed despite Wamba's protests that he was still able to reign.[64]

The only contemporary evidence we have for these events comes from the proceedings of the council at which the dominant figure was Bishop Julian, who many scholars maintain was dedicated to the extirpation of Judaism from the Visigothic kingdom.[65] The circumstantial evidence has led a number of scholars to suggest that Erwig's succession was the result of a conspiracy. Wamba was opposed by some elements in the Church, and his failure to pursue a vigorous anti-Jewish policy could not have pleased Julian, the most important ecclesiastical magnate in the kingdom.[66] Rumors that only found their written form several generations after Wamba's illness claimed that he had been drugged so that he could be tonsured and deposed. Of this Thompson writes, "it was inevitable that such a tale should have been told; and it may have been the truth. Indeed, the mere fact that the Twelfth Council tried at such length to excuse Erwig suggests that there was something which called for an excuse."[67]

What the council did to support Erwig's claim indeed suggests its *parti pris*. Erwig submitted to the council two documents that he said had been signed by Wamba and that appointed Erwig as Wamba's successor. Scholars are in general agreement that the documents were forgeries, but the council, acting under the influence of Julian, accepted them as genuine and proclaimed Erwig's legitimate right to be king. Even if these documents were real, however, they were not valid because they violated canon 75 of the Fourth Council.[68] We have seen, however, as in the case of Bishop Braulio, that an anti-Jewish faction was not averse to supporting a would-be king, despite the canons, if he would do their bidding on the Jewish question. The Twelfth Council, in addition, strengthened the rules concerning the inability of a tonsured king to regain the throne and absolved Wamba's subjects from their oath of fidelity to him. Hence it has been hypothesized that a conspiracy between Julian of Toledo and Erwig resulted in the recognition of the latter as king and that in return for this Church support Erwig promised to pursue a vigorous anti-Jewish policy.[69]

Egica succeeded Erwig and was faced not long afterward with a serious

[64] Ziegler, *Church and State,* 114; Murphy, "Julian of Toledo," 1–2; Thompson, *The Goths,* 230–31; 12 Tolet., *Tomus.*

[65] Paul à Wengen, *Julianus, Erzbischof von Toledo* (St. Gall, 1891), 31–39; Katz, *Jews in Spain,* 17; Adolph Helfferich, *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts* (Berlin, 1858), 192; cf. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo," 2–7, 13–14.

[66] See Thompson, *The Goths,* 228–29; Ziegler, *Church and State,* 116–17; and the older works cited by Murphy, "Julian of Toledo," 2; cf. Murphy's own conclusions, 17–19.

[67] Thompson, *The Goths,* 231; cf. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo," 3–4, 17–19.

[68] Ziegler, *Church and State,* 114–17, and the works discussed there; cf. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo," 12–13.

[69] 12 Tolet., canons 1, 2, 9; see Katz, *Church and State,* 117.

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revolt, in which Bishop Sisebert of Toledo led an attempt to overthrow the king and replace him with a certain Suniefred. Opposition to Egica was widespread, but he managed to survive and maintain his throne. After putting down Sisebert's revolt he called the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, which opened on May 2, 693. Egica had all those who conspired against him condemned, and it was ruled that their property be confiscated and their descendants be barred from public office. Bishop Sisebert was deposed and defrocked.[70] Egica also promulgated a new anti-Jewish policy, which increased the penalties for those who dealt with Jews illegally; important people (*maiores*) were liable for a fine of 216 solidi, and unimportant people (*inferiores*) were liable to receive up to a hundred lashes with the whip and be fined at the king's will. All property held by Jews that had been obtained from Christians was to be confiscated by the Crown, but compensation was to be paid. Jews were not permitted to carry on trade with Christians within the Visigothic kingdom, nor were they allowed to engage in long-distance commerce beyond its borders. In addition Jews were subjected to very burdensome taxes that the loss of their wealth presumably made it impossible for them to pay. The bishops at the Sixteenth Council confirmed this law but specifically noted that they did so only at the king's behest.[71]

The mode of attack Egica developed makes it abundantly clear that Erwig's efforts to force all Jews either to convert or to emigrate had failed. There were still many Jews in the Visigothic kingdom as of 693, and Egica thought it necessary to strike at their capacity to earn a living by issuing a series of laws aimed at crippling the economy of the Jewish community. The increase in the penalties decreed for those who violated the laws indicates that Erwig's milder punishments had not deterred offenses.[72]

Although some scholars have maintained that Egica was a religious fanatic, his anti-Jewish policy seems politically motivated. His relations with some Church factions were poor indeed, as was indicated by the revolt led by Bishop Sisebert. Furthermore, he violated many canons and moved Bishop Felix, who was Julian's biographer and apparently shared his anti-Jewish sentiments,[73] from Seville to Toledo. While Egica violated Church law, his anti-Jewish legislation was aimed at destroying the economic base of the Jewish community, and he therefore tried to eliminate a potential source of financial and other support that had previously been available to his many non-Jewish enemies.

During the year after Egica's anti-Jewish policy became law at the Sixteenth Council of Toledo some elements of the Jewish community at-

[70] Thompson, *The Goths*, 242–45.

[71] 16 Tolet., *Tomus*; c. 1; *LV* 12. 2. 18. Ziegler, *Church and State*, 195.

[72] Thompson, *The Goths*, 247–48; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 148–51. Ziegler's conclusion concerning the entire Visigothic anti-Jewish effort was that "tragic as the whole policy was, it was ridiculously ineffective. . . ." *Church and State*, 198–99.

[73] Thompson, *The Goths*, 245; Ziegler, *Church and State*, 126, 128.

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tempted to raise support from outside the kingdom to help sustain a revolt against the king. When Egica learned of these efforts he called the Seventeenth Council of Toledo, which met on November 9, 694, and there he spoke of confessions he had obtained from some of the Jews who had schemed at his overthrow. At Egica's order the bishops assembled at Toledo decreed that henceforth all Jews be stripped of their property and made slaves.[74] Certain scholars have defended the Jews' loyalty to the monarchy and have argued that Egica's claim that the Jews sought foreign support to overthrow him was a "figment or an invention";[75] the "doctors plot" is a ready parallel for the present-minded historian. Yet Egica's policy was pursued in seventh-century Spain, not in Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia; and we must evaluate the evidence in its own context, not in light of more modern events. Is there any reason to disbelieve Egica's charges? Had not *refugae* sought foreign aid to help rebel causes throughout much of the seventh century? Had not Jews actively participated in military operations against Wamba? Were not Jews sufficiently disadvantaged as a result of Egica's policies that they would benefit by opposing him actively? Egica was, after all, an extremely unpopular monarch who was condemned shortly after his death by a Christian writer as a king who "persecuted the Goths with bitter death."[76]

Against the positive evidence which asserts that the Jews sought foreign aid to overthrow the king and the circumstantial evidence which provides additional support for the charges, we have only the timeworn prejudice that Jews are an unwarlike people; Jews do not fight but weep, discuss, and at most try to bribe their enemies.[77] The uselessness of such stereotypes for the historian who is attempting to evaluate the evidence for a particular event at a particular time is manifest, and I therefore can find no reason to conclude that Jews did not scheme to overthrow Egica. It would have been strange indeed if they had not opposed him at least as vigorously as they had opposed Wamba when he came to power as the legitimate successor of a king who had pursued an anti-Jewish policy.

In 700 Egica raised his son Witiza to the throne to rule the northwestern

[74] 17 Tolet., *Tomus;* c. 8. Thompson, *The Goths,* 247–48. Egica exempted the Jews of Septimania from decree of enslavement. It seems that he knew that he could not enforce his anti-Jewish policy there and simply refrained from trying. Cf. Katz, *Jews in Spain,* 21 n. 5.

[75] Thompson, *The Goths,* 247, 315–16; cf. Katz, *Jews in Spain,* 21; Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue,* 368–69; Rafael Altamira, "Spain under the Visigoths," in *The Cambridge Medieval History,* ed. H. M. Gwatkin *et al.* (Cambridge, 1926), 2: 181.

[76] "His Gothos acerva morte persequitur." *Contin. Isid. Hisp.,* ch. 53. Thompson, *The Goths,* 243.

[77] This tradition is quite old; see, for example, Solomon ibn Verga, *Shebet Yehudah,* ed. and trans. M. Wiener (2d ed.; Hanover, 1924), 56–59. Solomon ibn Verga, a fifteenth-century Jewish historian, portrays the Jewish reaction to Sisebut's anti-Jewish policy as one of lamentation. He contends that a group of Jews, crying and moaning, begged for an audience with the king and tried to debate the theological validity of the royal policy. Jules Tailhan provides a variation of this theme in arguing that the Jews were naturally too timid to get involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the Visigothic kingdom. "La ruine de l'Espagne gothique," *Revue des questions historiques,* 31 (1882): 384–86.

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part of Spain, with its capital at Tuy. When Egica died in 702, Witiza, like most of his predecessors, was faced with revolts, but he survived and managed to have his young son Achila accepted as comonarch. Contemporary sources are by and large lacking for Witiza's reign, but some near-contemporary materials portray him as a much more congenial ruler than his father was. Nevertheless Witiza did not have good relations with at least a faction of the clergy,[78] nor did he pursue his father's anti-Jewish policies. A medieval tradition that survives in the *Chronicle* of Lucas of Tuy has it that Witiza was eager to have the support of the Jews and that he eliminated the disabilities his father had placed upon them, although there is no scholarly consensus concerning the reliability of that claim. Graetz, for example, first accepted it but later changed his mind. Dahn rejected it, too, arguing that the Church's dislike for Witiza led an ecclesiastic like Lucas to characterize the king as a Jew-lover, which, in the thirteenth century, was simply a form of condemnation. Katz follows Dahn, but Ziegler suggests that Witiza may have relaxed the anti-Jewish laws since in general "he ruled more mildly than his father." Scherer strongly supports the accuracy of Lucas's testimony.[79]

The two most damaging attacks on the evidence Lucas provides are his long separation in time from the events themselves and the alleged enmity of the Church toward Witiza. Lucas's portrayal of Witiza as a malevolent king was not an innovation but merely the continuation of a well-established historiographical tradition. Lucas passed on the picture he found in his sources and added the "fact" that Witiza pursued a pro-Jewish policy. In defense of Lucas it should be observed that his *Chronicle* is an uncritical grab bag of facts, stories, and legends gleaned from numerous written and oral sources. That Lucas personally shared in the "kirchliche Feindschaft" which is alleged to have motivated Witiza's "bad press" has not been proven. Yet even if it were demonstrated that Lucas shared this bias, this would not in itself constitute proof that he or his source fabricated the story of Witiza's pro-Jewish policy.[80]

Most important, Lucas introduces a new "fact" concerning Witiza. In this context it is important to note that Lucas was from Tuy, where Witiza located his first capital, and that nowhere else in Spain would people have had a better opportunity to retain in their oral traditions information about Witiza. In short, Lucas may well have had access to information

[78] Altamira, "Spain under the Visigoths," 182; Luis G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España* (Madrid, 1952), 1, pt. 1: 359–61; Thompson, *The Goths*, 248–49.

[79] *Lucas Tudensis chronicon mundi*, bk. 3, era 723 (Andreas Schott, ed., *Hispaniae illustratatae* [Frankfurt a/M, 1608], 4: 69–70). Heinrich Graetz, "Die westgothische Gesetzgebung in Betreff der Juden," *Jahresbericht des judisch-theologischen Seminars: Fraenckelscher Stiftung* (Breslau, 1858), 19, but see his later work, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1909), 5: 156; Dahn, *Die Könige*, 5: 239–42; 6: 421; Katz, *Jews in Spain*, 22; Ziegler, *Church and State*, 196; J. E. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern* (Leipzig, 1901), 26.

[80] Lucas's work is in need of a new critical edition and further study. See the brief bibliographical note in Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 1, pt. 1: 54–55.

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about Witiza's pro-Jewish policy because of the unique position the king's reign played in the history of Tuy.[81] If Witiza in fact reversed his father's anti-Jewish policy, the clearest evidence would probably have been found in the proceedings of the Eighteenth Council of Toledo (called in approximately 703 shortly after Egica's death) from which one copy of the minutes (now lost) survived in the Middle Ages. Lucas conceivably could have gotten his information from these documents.[82]

The history of the last few years of the Visigothic kingdom is very poorly documented. When Witiza died in about 710 his young son Achila, who earlier had been associated in the kingship, succeeded to the throne. As in most cases there was opposition to the succession, and a noble named Roderic was able to establish himself as king in the southern part of Spain while Achila retained control in the northeastern region.[83] The struggle for power within Spain was complicated by the efforts of the Byzantines to re-establish their influence and perhaps their colonies in the south of the peninsula. During the latter part of Witiza's reign a Byzantine invasion fleet had been repulsed by the Visigothic general, Theudimer. Legend has it that Urban, the Byzantine governor of the fortress at Ceuta who leagued with the Muslims in 710 to raid the coastal towns in the south of Spain, was pursuing a vendetta against Roderic because he is said to have dishonored Urban's daughter. It is more probable, however, that the Byzantines were pursuing a policy against the Visigoths and saw the Arabs as a useful tool in this endeavor.[84]

The Byzantines, the Muslims, and the armies of Achila were not Roderic's only enemies. While the king was campaigning against the Basques in 711 an army led by Tarik ibn Ziyad landed in the south of Spain. When Roderic gathered a large force that included contingents led by Achila's supporters, Archbishop Oppas of Seville and a noble named Sisebert, and met Tarik's army near the lake of La Janda in southern Spain (on either July 25 or 26) those fighting men and magnates loyal to Achila deserted. The Muslims won a decisive victory and during the next three years subdued Roderic's kingdom. The Jews, who opposed Roderic's supporters and allied with the Muslims, seized a large number of cities, and some cities, including Seville, Cordova, and Toledo, the most important in Spain, received

81 Altamira notes Witiza's connection with Tuy and also places a great deal of faith in Lucas's chronicle. "Spain under the Visigoths," 182.

82 Gonzalo Martinez Diez, *La colección canónica Hispana* (Madrid, 1966), 1: 166 ff.; Ziegler, *Church and State,* 121–22; Thompson, *The Goths,* 249. Cf. the extreme position taken by Franz Görres: "Die Acten des letzten (18) Toletanums, das unter dem viel verleumdeten König Witiza (701–710) stattfand, sind verloren gegangen, wahrscheinlich durch klerikale Fanatiker beseitigt. . . ." "Das Judentum im westgotischen Spanien von König Sisebut bis Roderich (612–711)," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie,* 48 (1905): 361. For a fuller presentation of this position, see F. Görres, "Charakter und Religionspolitik des vorletzten spanischen Westgotenkönigs, Witiza," *ibid.,* 96–111.

83 Altamira, "Spain under the Visigoths," 182–83; Valdeavellano, *Historia de España,* 1: pt. 1, 361–63; Shaw, "Visigothic Power in Spain," 215–16; Thompson, *The Goths,* 215–16.

84 *Contin. Isid. Hisp.,* ch. 74.

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Jewish garrisons. The numismatic evidence indicates that Achila's kingdom survived the Muslim conquest for several years.[85]

There is a temptation to conclude that the Muslims, King Achila, and the Jews all joined together, at least temporarily, to overthrow Roderic.[86] The Muslims gained the most from the fluidity of the situation, but the Jews did not suffer. The strength and importance of the Hispano-Jewish community in the post-Visigothic era is well documented. The Jews had been an important faction in the struggles for power that characterized the political life of the Visigothic kingdom during the century and a quarter before its fall, and they continued to be important in Spain for the remainder of the Middle Ages.[87]

JEWISH RELIGIOUS RITES and ceremonies—including special dietary customs, worship on Saturday, and congregation in synagogues—so different from those of the Christian majority, set the Jews apart as a clearly identifiable entity. Moreover, there was in Spain as throughout the lands that had once constituted the western half of the Roman Empire no dearth of anti-Jewish polemical literature condemning Jews as perfidious and enemies of Christianity. There were clerics and laymen in Visigothic Spain who did not find the persecution of Jews to be abhorrent; some even saw it as desirable.[88] Hence in pursuing anti-Jewish policies for political purposes Visigothic kings could use religion to their advantage, because Jews were easily identifiable and because support could be expected from some elements in the population who would persecute Jews on religious grounds.

It must, however, be remembered that fewer than half of the Catholic Visigothic kings adopted anti-Jewish policies. The Church as an ongoing institution in Visigothic Spain was a tool of the monarchy and confirmed the anti-Jewish legislation promulgated by the monarchs; it was usually made clear at the councils that the king had commanded their approval. While the Church as an institution tended to support the Crown's anti-Jewish policies, many bishops and abbots in their capacity as powerful magnates opposed or ignored such policies, and the population through-

[85] Eduardo de Saavedra (*Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España* [Madrid, 1892]) provides the generally accepted view of the events of the conquest. See also Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 1, pt. 1: 361–63; Altamira, "Spain under the Visigoths," 183 ff.; Thompson, *The Goths*, 249–51; Shaw, "Visigothic Power in Spain," 223–28; and Juster, "Condition légale," 298 n. 1. On the numismatic evidence, see George C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain: Leovigild to Achila II* (New York, 1952), 40 ff., 444 ff.

[86] The generally accepted reconstruction of the events of the conquest established by Saavedra is summarized by Altamira, in "Spain under the Visigoths," 183 ff. Concerning the alliance of Christians and Muslims he writes: "This connexion between the Muslims and the sons of Witiza is confirmed by all the chroniclers, and forms a trustworthy starting-point for the history of the invasion" (p. 184).

[87] See, for example, Américo Castro, *España en su Historia: cristianos, moros y judiós* (Buenos Aires, 1948).

[88] Katz reviews the anti-Jewish literature, in *Jews in Spain*, 32–41.

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out Visigothic Spain also tended not to support them. The key role played by the allegedly enslaved Jewish population in the success of the Arab conquest and the extraordinary impact the Jews had on both Christian and Islamic Spain in the post-Visigothic era leads to the inescapable conclusion that the Hispano-Jewish community was a formidable political faction and that anti-Jewish policies were abject failures.

To conclude: in the period from 589 to 711 at most seven of the Visigothic kings embraced anti-Jewish policies or encouraged anti-Jewish legislation. During this same period, however, no less than nine monarchs pursued policies that varied from benign neglect of the Jews to support of the Jews. Throughout the entire period those kings who pursued anti-Jewish policies faced strong opposition from both lay and ecclesiastical magnates as well as from the population at large. Furthermore, it was difficult and often impossible to enforce anti-Jewish laws because of their general unpopularity. In short, scholars have overestimated the power of the monarchs, put too much faith in the effectiveness of the Church councils, and grossly underestimated the importance and strength of the Jewish community. The Jews were a formidable force in a kingdom riddled by factionalism, fragmented by localism, and devoid of strong monarchical institutions. Visigothic monarchs who promulgated anti-Jewish laws and demanded the Church councils to do the same were seeking to weaken the Crown's political enemies. These monarchs were neither religious fanatics nor the pusillanimous instruments of pious bishops.

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The Castilian Urban Patriciate and the Jewish Expulsions of 1480-92

STEPHEN H. HALICZER

On March 30, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella issued perhaps the most famous—or infamous—document of their reign: the edict for the expulsion of the Jews. This decree ordered the departure within three months of all Jews residing in their dominions, said Jews were not to return under pain of the most severe punishment. It was forbidden, moreover, after the three-month period had elapsed, for anyone "of whatsoever rank, station or condition he may be to receive any Jew or Jewess in any part of our kingdoms henceforth for ever and ever."[1]

The decree is quite explicit as to the reasons for its promulgation; communication between Jews and Christians had led to apostasy and Judaizing. The Jews, it appeared, were incessant and incorrigible propagandists for their religion, the sworn enemies of Christianity

> who always endeavor in every way they can to subvert our holy Catholic faith, and to make faithful Christians withdraw and separate themselves therefrom, and attract and pervert them to their injurious opinions and belief, instructing them in the ceremonies and observances of their religion, holding meetings where they read and teach them what they are to believe and observe according to their religion; and persuading them to profess and keep the law of Moses; giving them to understand that there is no other law or truth save the law of Moses, which is proved by many declarations and confessions both of the Jews themselves and those who have been perverted and deceived by them, which has greatly redounded to the injury, detriment and opprobrium of our Holy Catholic faith.[2]

Traditional attempts to explain why the edict was issued emphasize two supposed major causes. The first of these was a growing wave of popular anti-Semitism, which is claimed to be closely linked to a marked upsurge of religious fervor in Castile in the fifteenth century, a fervor that gave rise to Illuminism and the monastic reform movement. For the proponents of this theory the edict of expulsion represented a concession to popular

[1] Quoted in E. H. Lindo, *The Jews of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1848), 277.
[2] *Ibid.*, 278.

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enmity toward the Jews and consequently received mass support from all segments of the population, "great and small, learned and ignorant."[3]

The second traditional explanation stresses the strong nationalist and centralizing tendencies that characterized the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Writers in this tradition link the expulsion of the Jews to the establishment of the Inquisition and the later forced conversion of the Moors of Granada and claim that all these acts were part and parcel of a policy that strove to achieve political unity through the creation of religious homogeneity. A recent study of the reign of the Catholic sovereigns, for example, tells us that "today there is no room for doubt. . . . The expulsion was dictated by a supreme reason of state: the sovereignty of the Crown could not tolerate the existence of an unassimilated social group."[4]

The first of these traditional explanations hardly merits serious consideration, since its basic premise—the link between mass anti-Semitism and the religious reform movement—rests on very tenuous evidence.[5] Fifteenth-century Castile undoubtedly experienced a remarkable religious revival, but the Illuminist movement was characterized by a strong emphasis on "an interiorized Christianity," on the aspiration of the individual soul to unite itself with God through meditation, and on the unimportance of worldly things.[6] It is difficult to believe that a system of mystical beliefs held by a small minority of Spanish clergy and laymen could have inspired the mass hostility that, according to the traditional view, played such an important role in the expulsion. As for the monastic reform movement, there is little evidence that it had much real impact before 1492.[7] There were only twelve reformed monasteries in Castile in 1489, ten of which were of minor importance. The reform movement really did not begin to achieve its goals until after 1493, when it was taken over by the Crown as part of a general policy of extending royal influence over ecclesiastical matters.

As concerns the second traditional interpretation, the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella undoubtedly saw a considerable strengthening of the power and resources of the Spanish monarchy, but it may be argued that the Catholic sovereigns achieved that end not through the imposition of religious conformity but through a policy of alliance with the Castilian towns

[3] José Amador de los Ríos, *História social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1960), 780–82. Amador de los Ríos stressed the "mass support" for the expulsion decree of 1492. Pressure for expulsion derived from a clearly expressed anti-Semitism of the Castilian people, an attitude that dated from the beginning of the fifteenth century but crystallized at the conclusion of "God's war" against the last remnant of Moorish power in Spain. For a recent restatement of this classic view, see the introduction by Luís Suárez Fernández, ed., *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos* (Valladolid, 1964), 9–11.

[4] Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica* (Madrid, 1964), 642.

[5] See Américo Castro, *La realidad histórica de España* (Mexico, D.F., 1954), 503–04, 481–84, who argues for a relationship between the intense religiosity of the Spanish fifteenth century and the growth of mass hostility to the Jews. This hostility, he claims, led to an irresistible pressure for their expulsion.

[6] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, tr. Antonio Altorre (Mexico, D.F., 1966), 167.

[7] Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Historia de la reforma de la Provincia de España* (Rome, 1939), 17.

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and their urban oligarchies. A major thesis of this article is that the edict of expulsion can be fully understood and explained only in the context of that alliance. The alliance between Ferdinand and Isabella and the Castilian urban oligarchies first became manifest during the War of Succession, 1475–79, when urban support of the Santa Hermandad (a national military force manned and funded by the Castilian towns) and the mustering of urban militias enabled the youthful rulers to defeat Alfonso V of Portugal and his Castilian supporters. The Granadan war of 1481–92 made even more evident the monarchy's reliance on municipal aid in the form of funds, troops, and supplies. From the very start of the war the Hermandad furnished about two-thirds of the infantry and one-third of the cavalry, and subsidies voted by the cities to defray the extraordinary costs of the war provided much of the revenues needed.

In return for this massive support, however, the urban oligarchies expected and obtained certain major political concessions aimed at consolidating their control of the cities and eliminating rival powers. In the pursuit of the first of these goals they sought to reduce the power of the corregidor (a royal official who presided over the city council) and other royal servants. Simultaneously the urban oligarchies came into conflict with the Jews, whose community enjoyed its own royal charter and was free from control by the urban oligarchy even though the Jews lived within the city.

But the frank hostility shown by Castilian city councils toward local Jewish communities had deeper roots than the desire of a powerful local oligarchy to increase its power. The fifteenth-century urban governing class was partially composed of *conversos* (forced or voluntary Jewish converts to Christianity) and was very responsive to their interests. The *conversos* had risen to prominence and influence in Castilian life after a series of forced conversions that began in 1391. Yet because of their Jewish background they were intensely vulnerable to Old Christian pressure.

Throughout the fifteenth century, violence mounted against *converso* officeholders, with Old Christian writers declaring that the *conversos'* Jewish background made it impossible for them ever to be good Catholics and demanding their ouster from public life and removal from royal offices. A new wave of violence directed against *conversos* broke out during the War of Succession. This development, coming at a time when the need for unity was paramount, alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella and may have been a major cause of their establishment of a national Inquisition. The Inquisition, they doubtless hoped, would put to rest the *converso* problem by focusing on the religious issue, which could provide a basis for the inclusion of *conversos* in Castilian life by separating true believers of Jewish origin from the apostates who would be punished and excluded from public offices.

Be that as it may, the establishment of the Inquisition posed a major

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threat to the *conversos'* enviable position in Castilian life. The Inquisition's acceptance of anonymous denunciations, refusal to disclose witnesses, and other arbitrary procedures made it almost impossible for the accused to prove his innocence. Furthermore, the punishments the Inquisition could decree, which included total confiscation of property and exclusion from public office for the *converso* and his family, threatened the destruction of *converso* economic and political power. To counter this threat the *conversos* used their influence on city councils to obstruct the work of the Inquisition and prevent its officials from collecting the property owed the Crown from confiscations. This resistance, I shall show, was largely successful and resulted in saving the bulk of *converso* property and preserving *converso* political power.

The *conversos* had their own perspective on the whole question of their place in Castilian society. In their refutation of Old Christian writers who demanded that *conversos* be excluded from public life, *conversos* stressed the doctrinal unity of Old and New Christians and pointed to the Jews as the real source of danger to Christianity. *Converso* ideologists argued that the solution for this problem was to remove the Jews from occupations and places of residence where they were in frequent and dangerous contact with Christians.

The Crown's extreme dependence on the urban governing class, of which the *conversos* were such an important component, enabled *converso* city councilors and local officials to disregard Crown policy and implement the anti-Semitic program of *converso* intellectuals through the passage of anti-Semitic city ordinances. The *conversos* were able to enlist the support of Old Christian elements in the urban oligarchy who were increasingly resentful of the special tax exemptions and immunities the Jews enjoyed in time of war. From 1483 the passage of anti-Semitic city ordinances made the position of local Jewish communities increasingly precarious. Meanwhile the Crown, needing urban support for the war effort, could not effectively intervene. The hostility of city councils led to a process of expulsion of Jews, first from towns in Old and New Castile and then from whole provinces. The climax of this process came when the Crown itself, under the pressure of events and fearing further deterioration of its relations with urban oligarchies, ordered a hastily prepared, poorly timed expulsion that did not correspond to either its previous Jewish policy or its true interests.

FOR A FULLER UNDERSTANDING of the events of 1492 we need to recall the special position the Jews occupied in medieval Spain.[8] During the course

[8] Despite the conflict between the two distinguished historians Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and Américo Castro over the relative importance of Jews as merchants and artisans, both agree as to the Jews' dominance of the liberal professions, while Sánchez-Albornoz places even more emphasis than Castro on their wealth: "At the end of several generations [of residence in Christian Spain] there were fabulously rich Jews and a great number of wealthy ones in all

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of the *reconquista* the expanding Christian states took in an ever larger number of Jews. The Jews brought with them all the skills they had acquired while living among the Moors and rapidly established themselves as the chief financial administrators and tax collectors in the Christian kingdoms,[9] as well as owners of major textile manufactories in Toledo, Seville, and Córdoba. The majority, however, employed in humbler occupations, were craftsmen, small shopkeepers, moneylenders, and the like. They enjoyed considerable legal privileges and formed within the city a chartered, self-governing community (the *aljama*) that was subject to the Crown, not the municipality.[10]

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when Hispano-Hebrew influence was at its peak, the Jews provided Castilian society with a whole range of technical, professional, and managerial functions that the social value system of the Christians held in small regard. By providing these functions and by managing most of the financial transactions of Christian society many Jews became rich and politically influential, but they earned in return the hatred of an increasing proportion of the Christian population.[11] In such a capital-poor agricultural society as medieval Castile the Jew's prominence as moneylender and tax collector was bound to cause bitter resentment.

The Jews' physical safety and privileges depended on the existence of a strong monarchy that could protect and employ them and on continued Christian preoccupation with war against the Moors. The social disruption caused by the Black Death and the civil wars of 1369–71, however, brought about a decisive weakening of the monarchy. The immense land grants made by the first Trastamara, Henry II, and his dependence on the great nobility gravely weakened the military and financial position of the Crown and prepared the way for the wave of anti-Semitism that began in Seville with the sermons of Ferrán Martínez in 1378 and ended in the forced conversion of tens of thousands of Jews in 1391, despite the efforts of municipal and royal officials to protect them.[12] After the rioting had ceased, however, the Crown showed its interest in a continued Jewish presence by fostering the resettlement of Jews and by punishing those who had attacked them.[13]

Thus, during the events of 1391 all established authority—including most of the Church hierarchy—was ranged on the side of the Jews and

the kingdoms of the peninsula." Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires, 1962), 2: 181. The key to their immense wealth, according to Sánchez-Albornoz, was in their almost complete control of the financial life of Castile through moneylending (pp. 192–206) and tax farming (pp. 211–45).

[9] *Ibid.*, 208–10.

[10] Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia, 1961–66), 6: 201, 212.

[11] Castro, *La realidad histórica de España*, 367.

[12] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2: 96.

[13] R. P. Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena* (Madrid, 1942), 118. Although before 1391 most Jews lived within the Jewish quarter designated for them in their original charter of settlement, this was completely voluntary, and many Jews were to be found outside the quarter.

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against mob violence. Because the Jews performed vital technical functions for the feudal and warrior elite of the late fourteenth century, an attack on them—for whatever reason—could quickly become dangerous to constituted authority. In 1492 the main impetus for an anti-Semitic campaign came, not from the masses, but from the ranks of the ruling elite. The unity that the Christian ruling class had exhibited in the face of anti-Semitic activity in 1391 was broken by the defection of a key element—the urban oligarchies whose social composition as well as political and economic goals had changed radically during the fifteenth century.

Forced conversion of substantial numbers of Jews during 1391 and the more or less voluntary conversion of thousands of others in ensuing years brought about substantial changes in the entire political, social, and cultural map of Christian Spain. The converted Jews, who were now freed from the legal, cultural, and religious constraints that had kept them as a class apart during most of the High Middle Ages, could fully enter Christian society, bringing with them all of the technical, administrative, and financial skills that were a legacy of Jewish culture. Fifteenth-century demographic and economic growth created many economic opportunities for the *conversos* to use their unique skills and allowed them to move rapidly into the ranks of the Castilian middle and upper classes.[14] By mid-century, intermarriage between *converso* families of great wealth and old noble families had become commonplace. One highly placed *converso* official, Fernan Díaz del Toledo, boasted openly of the fusion of *conversos* and the highest Old Christian noble families in his "Instrucción del Relator para el obispo de Cuenca a favor de la nación hebrea," written in 1449.[15]

Conversos also rose to prominent positions in royal administration and the Church hierarchy. The amazing career of Salomon Ha Levi illustrates the importance attained by some *conversos* in the early fifteenth century. After a brilliant rabbinical career, which included the founding of the finest school of Talmudic studies in northern Spain, Salomon was made chief rabbi of Burgos. In 1390 he became a convert to Christianity, adopting the name Pablo de Santa María, and shortly thereafter departed to study theology at the University of Paris, where he met and befriended the future pope, Benedict XIII. Later Pablo returned to Castile as Benedict's representative and helped persuade Henry III to support Benedict in the famous schism (1378–1414). Thereafter Pablo rose very rapidly; he became in turn bishop of Cartagena, bishop of Burgos (where he was succeeded by his second son, Alonso de Cartagena), member of the royal council and papal legate.[16] His eldest son Gonzalo continued to win honors for the family by becoming bishop successively of Astorga, Plasencia, and Siguenza.[17]

[14] Jaime Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton, 1969), 258–77.

[15] See Albert A. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de 'pureté de sang' en Espagne du XV au XVII siècles* (Paris, 1960), 39–40.

[16] Serrano, *Los conversos, D. Pablo de Santa María*, 11, 31, 59–68.

[17] Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York, 1965), 20.

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By the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella *conversos* were of major importance in the administration of the kingdom of Castile, and they practically dominated the administration of Aragon. In Castile in 1480 Hernando de Talavera was given charge of investigations into the status of *mercedes* (liens on Crown revenue), and he later became commissioner of collections for the Crusade and the first archbishop of Granada. Three royal secretaries, Fernando Alvarez, Alfonso de Avila, and Hernando de Pulgar, were *conversos,* as was the treasurer of the Santa Hermandad, Luis de Santángel. In Aragon the vice-chancellor, the comptroller-general of the royal household, an admiral, and a vice-principal of the University of Saragossa all came from one *converso* family. The treasurer of Aragon was another *converso,* Gabriel Sanchez.[18]

The most significant aspect of the rise of the *conversos,* however, was their growing penetration of municipal government. This penetration is not surprising, since, from the reign of Alfonso XI, positions on the city councils had been brought within the royal patronage system. The *conversos'* close association with royal service as tax farmers and royal administrators meant that they would participate in, and benefit from, this extension of royal patronage, so that by mid-century they were strongly entrenched in city councils all over Castile.[19]

The *conversos'* hold on the city councils, however, was very precarious, since many sectors of the Old Christian population were deeply hostile to them. This hostility was partly based on residual anti-Semitism, but was exacerbated by the fact that the *conversos* owed their position in municipal government to two late-fourteenth-century developments, both of which tended to divide the city population socially and politically. First, the substitution of appointed for elected city officials widened the gulf between municipal officialdom and the mass of *pecheros* (taxpayers), who had lost the electoral privilege and deeply resented the appointed officials. Second, the need for more highly educated officials to deal with the increasingly complex functions of the late-medieval Castilian city meant that the knights *(caballeros),* from whose ranks elected officials had customarily been drawn, were now excluded from officeholding because of their lack of legal training. As a result, fourteenth-century Castilian life exhibits constant conflict between the appointed urban oligarchy and its clients and supporters, and the majority of *pecheros,*[20] while the knights' resentment at being replaced by royal appointees was a major factor in the bloody rising of knights and *pecheros* in Toledo in 1448. This rising not only resulted in the death and impoverishment of many *converso* families[21] but produced the first statute aimed specifically against *converso* officeholding. Although the Toledo rising was put down and its leader driven from the city, hostility to *conversos*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Francisco Marquez Villanueva, "Conversos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV," *Revista de Archivos, Museos y Bibliotecas,* 63 (1957): 505.

[20] María del Carmen Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellanoleones* (Buenos Aires, 1968), 225.

[21] Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1961), 48.

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increased from 1465 to 1475. During July 1467 there was renewed fighting in Toledo, which resulted in the deaths of many *conversos*. Similar violence occurred in Sepúlveda in 1468, in Córdoba in 1473, and in Jaén and Segovia in 1474. In all of these places *conversos* and their supporters were massacred.[22] This growing agitation against *conversos* and the resulting political and social unrest ran counter to the royal interest. Ferdinand and Isabella, scarcely established on the throne, faced civil war over the rival claim of Isabella's niece Doña Juana, when anti-*converso* violence broke out again in the 1470s. This agitation had the unwelcome effect of heightening the prevailing anarchy and dividing the towns—on which Isabella depended heavily for military and financial support—between *conversos* and their supporters and anti-*converso* elements.

It is altogether likely, therefore, that this agitation inspired the revival of the idea of a national Inquisition under state control, an idea that had first been proposed during the later part of the previous reign, when *conversos* were being widely accused of practicing Judaism and the role of *conversos* in Castilian life was a subject of intense debate.[23] How widespread these practices were among the *conversos* was shown from the first years of the Inquisition, which were marked by the appearance of vast numbers at the early autos-da-fé (some 2,250 persons were reconciled at three autos held in Toledo between February and December 1486),[24] and the large numbers included in the rehabilitation agreements of the 1490s. By contrast with the Old Christian demand for discrimination against all *conversos* on the basis of their Jewish background, the Inquisition provided a rational means for distinguishing between the sheep and the goats in the *converso* community. The Inquisition would punish *converso* Judaizers (*conversos* who, although ostensibly Christians, continued to practice Judaism) with fines and confiscations and bar them from public office, but simultaneously would confirm the orthodoxy of the rest, thereby guaranteeing them immunity from further attack.

Moreover, as it was first constituted, the Inquisition provided the Castilian state with a major new source of power and funds. The papal bull of November 1, 1478, gave Ferdinand and Isabella complete control over appointments, marking the start of that systematic extension of royal power over the ecclesiastical establishment that was to become one of their major accomplishments. Fines and confiscations imposed by the Inquisition also provided a potential major new source of funds for the state. Although the Crown applied much of this revenue to the support of the tribunals, it undoubtedly gained important sums from this source for other uses.[25]

[22] Azcona, *Isabel la Católica*, 382–83.

[23] Amador de los Ríos, *História social, politica y religiosa*, 620.

[24] Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 190; also see the mass rehabilitation settlements of the 1490s for evidence of widespread Judaizing (p. 18n).

[25] *Ibid.*, 137, 151.

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No doubt the Crown also saw the Inquisition as a valuable instrument for the forging of national unity. Tomas de Torquemada's appointment as chief inquisitor of the kingdom of Aragon on October 17, 1483, added to his position as inquisitor general of Castile, made him the head of the only major state institution whose authority extended over both Castile and Aragon and whose powers overrode Aragonese provincial liberties.[26] Whatever advantages it may have offered the Crown, the Inquisition rapidly became a major threat to all *conversos,* who not only feared malicious denunciations but were uncertain as to what practices the tribunal considered culpable and were alarmed by the arbitrary nature of its procedures.

Inquisitorial proceedings customarily began with a thirty- to forty-day period of grace during which all those coming forward to confess were free from the threat of further actions. Many *conversos* chose not to take advantage of this period of grace, however, either because of the public disgrace it involved or because of uncertainty as to practices that were considered evidence of Judaizing. Not until 1500 was this confusion partly dispelled by the publication of a statement that described heretical practices. If a *converso* failed to come forward and was arrested, his property was immediately sequestered and used to pay the costs of his imprisonment and trial. Even if he proved his innocence of the charges, he was not compensated for those losses; if found guilty he would lose all his property together with any public office that he might have held, whether or not he was reconciled to the Church. In most cases no provision was made for his family, which frequently was left destitute. The penalties imposed by the Inquisition, moreover, did not stop with the condemned person but were extended to his family. The earliest general instruction, issued by Torquemada at Seville in 1484, not only deprived reconciled and lapsed *conversos* of public office but stated that "the children and grandchildren of the condemned may not hold or possess public offices or be promoted to holy orders."[27]

Conversos also feared the Inquisition because its procedures gave them little hope of being able to prove their innocence. Although the accused could retain an attorney of his own choosing, the names of all witnesses against him were concealed, and he was not allowed to confront them.[28] Thus the vast majority of *conversos* who feared to come forward during the period of grace or who sincerely believed themselves good Catholics had good reason for alarm. They were exposed to anonymous accusations, leading to arrest and imprisonment on the basis of evidence given by faceless accusers.

Converso reactions to this threat varied. Some fled their native cities, others prepared for armed resistance, but many others, men of local and

[26] *Ibid.,* 138.
[27] *Ibid.,* 120; see also 165, 163, 150.
[28] *Ibid.,* 181.

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national importance, settled down to a long campaign of obstruction. Their strategy had three major goals: to obtain the support of high Crown officials in dispelling the atmosphere of terror that enveloped all *conversos,* to render ineffective the ban on officeholding by convicted *conversos* and their families, and to protect the property of fugitive, reconciled, and lapsed *conversos* from confiscation for the royal treasury. The success of this resistance affords striking evidence of the power and wealth of *conversos* in the municipal oligarchy and of their ability to define municipal policy on issues of deep concern to them.

In Jerez de la Frontera, for example, the *actas* of the city council show a definitely protective attitude toward *conversos* from the first years of the Inquisition; other documents, found in Jerez but relating to the entire province of Cádiz, reveal a marked concern for protection of convicted *conversos'* property. In 1483 the municipal council sent one of its members to court to obtain the support of high officials for *conversos* of the city. The text of the relevant document clearly shows the high favor that *conversos* enjoyed among the city councilors: "It being just and of service to God and their Highnesses that we send to plead for the *conversos* who remain in the city, they [the councilors] ordered that the said Francisco de Sales be sent to make this supplication as their envoy." Sales was successful in obtaining strong support from the *converso* bishop Fernando de Talavera, Isabella's confessor and one of her most important advisers. Talavera informed Sales that his petition "had come in good time and the case of the *conversos* had been helped by what the city had written and indeed the entire kingdom would benefit, and this was his reply."[29]

It would be difficult to find more convincing evidence of the sympathy with which high official circles regarded the anti-Inquisitorial activities of city councils. Talavera's response and the pro-*converso* stand taken by the royal secretary Fernando de Pulgar in his letters indicate that important *conversos* at the highest levels of the Isabelline administration were waging a campaign against the Inquisition.[30] How successful they were in weakening it is suggested by an official document sent to Jerez by the inquisitors of Seville shortly after the city council had enlisted Talavera's aid. In this remarkable document the inquisitors reversed their policy, favored the return of the many fugitive *conversos* of Jerez, and virtually promised them immunity from further prosecution.

> The reverend fathers inquisitors order that we [the councilors] not consent to any mistreatment of the fugitives who return to the city. This, they say, is what is suitable to the service of God, their Highnesses and the good of the city in order that they [the *conversos*] remain loyal to the faith.[31]

[29] *Actas Capitulares* (hereafter *AC*), Feb. 7, 1483, fol. 35; Apr. 26, 1483, fol. 64, Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera (hereafter AMJF).

[30] Amador de los Ríos, *História social, política y religiosa,* 685, 817.

[31] *AC,* 1483, fol. 68, AMJF.

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On January 31, 1483, the city council heard a request by its alcalde, Juan de Perea, who had been deprived of the office of *jurado* (an elective or appointive parish official with minor police duties) after his conviction for heresy. He asked that the council intervene to lift the ban on office-holding by excommunicated *conversos*—unrepentant heretics, by definition.

> The alcalde Juan de Perea came and asked the said councilors to write to the inquisitors in the name of the city ordering them to lift the ban on the holding of the office of *jurado* in San Mateo by him [Perea] and other excommunicated persons because their Highnesses had given him the said office. And then they said that the said alcalde had spoken well and that they would write the said fathers.[32]

In addition, despite the Inquisitorial ban on officeholding by *conversos* found guilty of Judaizing, a ban extended to their families, the Jerez council did not hesitate to appoint members of the infamous Carmona family to posts in the city administration. The *actas* record that one Rodrigo de Carmona, an *escribano publico* (notary public), took testimony in a case involving Sancho Cantero and his brother Cristóbal. When Manuel de Carmona came to the council on official business on April 7, 1490, his father Juan de Carmona, a relative of the executed former *jurado* Pedro de Carmona, is listed as a *jurado:* "Manuel de Carmona, son of *jurado* Juan de Carmona and farmer of the tax of two maravedis per burden and ten maravedis per cartload that is to be paid to the Hermandad, came to the council." Two years later Gonzalez de Carmona, another member of the family, was allowed to become a money-changer despite the fact that in 1484 the Crown had ordered Jerez to replace all *converso* money-changers with Old Christians.[33]

Pedro Riquel was another *converso* official who was aided by the council in his difficulties with the Inquisition. The occasion was a request for funds to be used in procuring favorable treatment for Riquel and other *conversos* at court.

> The members discussed certain sums that Pedro Riquel, the *mayordomo,* and other gentlemen and clergy of this city needed to expend because of the Inquisition, so that their Highnesses might use him and his brother with mercy, both in the matter of the property that has been condemned and in the matter of their wearing of the habit [a reference to the San Benito, a penitential garment worn for periods of three months to life], for although his father had committed that misdeed, his mother was a Christian.[34]

The council's decision to allot the requested sums indicates its willingness to protect *conversos'* property as well as the persons and offices of *conversos.* So successful were the Castilian city councils in opposing the collection of *converso*-owned property forfeit to the Crown as a result of Inquisitorial

[32] *Ibid.,* Jan. 31, 1483, fol. 28.
[33] *Ibid.,* Apr. 7, 1490, fol. 173; Aug. 2, 1492, fol. 207.
[34] *Ibid.,* Sept. 29, 1492, fol. 207.

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proceedings that the Crown eventually had to make a series of humiliating compromises that left the wealth of condemned *conversos* virtually intact.

The difficulties Inquisitorial officials encountered in collecting the vast sums owed the Crown can be best illustrated by the fate of Luis de Mesa, who, as receiver of confiscated property for the archbishoprics of Seville and Cadiz, was responsible for the collection of the sums from the property of fugitive or reconciled *conversos* in his district. After the failure of the investigator Labon to stop the illegal sale of *converso* property in 1482, the queen appointed Mesa to investigate in Jerez and to stop the abuses. In her letter of appointment she complained,

> Some persons without fear of God or of my justice have taken and hold and are hiding many goods, jewels, cattle, and other property belonging to persons who, because of their crime, ought to lose the said property; and they have taken, transported, and appropriated it, and allowed others to appropriate it without my permission.

Mesa, however, soon found his investigation obstructed by the Jerez city council. The councilors claimed that he did not have sufficient powers to make the investigation or confiscate property, and the municipal authorities withheld official recognition until they received two other letters from the court confirming his powers.[35] Mesa then proceeded to appoint investigators to the Jerez area, but they ran into stiff opposition almost as soon as they arrived. The city council complained to the court about Mesa's chief investigator, Antón Martínez de Aguilera, and although Aguilera managed to obtain a list of property in Jerez owed the Crown, there is no evidence that he ever collected it.

Stubborn resistance to any meaningful investigation of *converso* property owed the Crown was partly responsible for the compromise settlements that allowed condemned *conversos* full rehabilitation for officeholding and a guarantee against future confiscations in return for a small part of their property. On November 4, 1490, Cristóbal de Villanueva, who replaced Mesa as collector of confiscated property in the archbishoprics of Seville and Cadiz, was authorized to allow reconciled *conversos* to enjoy their present property and future earnings in return for a small cash payment. Villanueva's commission applied to all such persons in the two archbishoprics.[36]

Royal officials made a similar arrangement with a large group of fugitive New Christians in Córdoba in May 1487. After these New Christians paid 1,200,000 maravedis they were permitted to return to the city without fear of further confiscations or disabilities.[37] Diego de Vitoria took charge of

[35] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1484, fol. 70.
[36] *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1490, fol. 17.
[37] Haim Beinart, "Two Documents concerning Confiscated *Converso* Property," *Sefarad*, 17 (1957): 305.

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the largest and most significant of these settlements, which took place during 1495–97 and involved *conversos* throughout Castile. Typically royal officials offered the reconciled rehabilitation for officeholding and freedom from fines in return for a payment amounting to an average of five per cent of their property. In the single province of Seville more than six thousand individuals were rehabilitated.[38]

Faced with the widespread passive resistance of *converso* families, who concealed the property of condemned relatives, and with the tenacious opposition of *converso*-influenced city councils that granted *conversos* funds from city treasuries to fight the Inquisition and persistently employed *conversos* from disabled families despite laws to the contrary, the Crown had to concede the failure of its efforts to punish the guilty and remove them from official positions. The rehabilitation settlements, allowing *conversos* to return to their native cities with impunity, permitting reconciled *conversos* and their families to hold municipal positions, and allowing them to retain the bulk of their property signified a major victory for the *conversos*, whose formidable power on a local level remained largely intact. Actual reduction of the *conversos'* political and social position had to await the sixteenth-century enactment of statutes of Limpieza —special entrance requirements that barred *conversos* from universities, cathedral chapters, and religious orders.[39]

Although *conversos* thus succeeded in deflecting the heaviest blows of the Inquisition and in defeating Old Christian efforts to exclude them from public life, from the mid-fifteenth century the *converso* leadership had been aware of the need for developing a theoretical stance that would protect and consolidate their position in Castilian society. By the 1460s *converso* intellectuals had developed such a stance, one that involved the acceptance of a certain anti-Semitism by the *conversos* themselves.

Central to *converso* thinking were two ideas: a stress upon the unity of all Christians after baptism regardless of their origins and a view of Jews as the cause of heresy and a danger to the entire body of Christians both Old and New. These ideas were not entirely new—Raymond Lull had already stressed the unity of Old Christian and convert in the thirteenth century—but the great emphasis mid-fifteenth-century *converso* writers placed upon them virtually turned them into a specifically *converso* position. Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, a *converso,* stressed the unity of all Chris-

[38] Azcona, *Isabel la Católica,* 421–22.

[39] Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts,* 137. The tribulations of the early Inquisition in Jerez and Andalusia open to serious questioning the traditional view according to which the Inquisition from the first "assumed the shape in which it dominated the conscience of every man and was an object of terror to the whole population." Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition of Spain,* 6 (London, 1906): 181. Even Lea expressed his astonishment at the relatively easy imposition of "so novel and absolute a tyranny" on a class as powerful as the *conversos* (p. 185). The documents drawn from municipal archives and cited above suggest that the Inquisition was successfully if unspectacularly resisted on a local level long after the bloody defeat of the famous anti-Inquisitorial rising of 1481 in Seville.

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tians in his reply in 1449 to the Sentencia-Estatuto, which had proscribed officeholding by the *conversos* of Toledo. According to Montalvo the ban on *converso* officeholding was destructive of the unity of the faith and strongly smacked of heresy.[40]

Alonso de Cartagena, who had succeeded his father, the famous *converso* Pablo de Santa María, as bishop of Burgos, developed these themes in a major work. In his *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae* (1449) Cartagena claimed that the name Israel should be applied to all who accepted Christianity, since it was God's plan to unify mankind through Christ's passion. The pious Christian, whether of Jewish or Gentile origin, is the true Israelite. Since all faithful Christians were united in Christ, there could be no separation between Jews and Gentiles after baptism. Works published by *conversos* during a controversy that began in 1461 over the effects of contact between *conversos* and Old Christians also stressed the reality of the union of New and Old Christians through acceptance of baptism by the former.[41] During this controversy *conversos* consistently argued that Old Christian hostility to Jewish converts violated the basic tenets of Christian belief, whereas Old Christian writers invariably stressed the insincerity of the converted and their basic incompatibility with Old Christians.

In the most important Old Christian document written during the controversy, the Franciscan Alonso de Espina assembled a list of crimes traditionally attributed to the Jews and then gave examples of similar crimes recently perpetrated by the *conversos* of Spain. For Espina *conversos* were akin to the Jews in their ill will toward Christians; indeed they were still Jews, who simply practiced their cult in secret. For Espina the problems brought by the *conversos* could be solved only by limiting their contact with Old Christians and by the establishment of an Inquisition that would punish heretics.

For the *converso* general of the order of Saint Jerome, Alonso de Oropesa, the problem called for a very different solution. He complained that certain Old Christians denied the tenets of Christianity by putting the Jewish converts in a separate category, thus "dividing the body of Christ." In his *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* (1465), written at the insistence of the archbishop of Toledo, he repeated all the arguments used by Alonso de Cartagena to show that *conversos* and Old Christians had become one people after baptism.[42] Oropesa carried *converso* thinking one crucial step further by focusing on Jews as the real cause of the problem. The extensive opportunities for contact with Christians that the Jews obtained through their employment as tax collectors and administrators of estates had only hardened them in their beliefs, making them dangerous enemies to both Old and New Christians. The Jews "have done great evil, daring almost

[40] See Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts*, 36.
[41] *Ibid.*, 46, 67.
[42] *Ibid.*, 67, 73.

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publicly to corrupt the virgin daughters of the Christians, making many Old Christians become Jews, and turning many converts to error and perversion."[43] It was the evil deeds of the Jews that caused Old Christians to turn against the *conversos* and deprive them of their honors and offices. For Oropesa the solution was clear: the authorities must prevent contact between Jews and Christians and make the former embrace Christianity, using force if necessary.[44]

Many of the ideas expressed in the decree of expulsion of 1492 have a strong affinity with the *converso* position in the fifteenth-century debate over the place of Jews in Castilian life. The decree indirectly supported the *conversos*' insistence on the unity of all Christians. Making no distinction between Old and New Christians in discussing the dangers posed by the continued presence of the Jews, the decree was careful to state that the reason for the creation of the Inquisition was the existence of "some bad Christians." Moreover, advancing an argument that could have derived directly from the *Lumen*, the decree specifically stated that the danger to "faithful Christians" came not from *conversos* who were secret Jews but from the intercourse of Christians and Jews.

> According to what we have been informed by inquisitors and many other persons, both religious and secular, it appears that the great harm that has come to Christians comes from the communication they have had and have with the Jews who are always trying to subvert faithful Christians from our Catholic faith and pervert them to their injurious belief and opinion.

Judaizing could be eliminated only by ending contact between Jews and Christians. The decree then lists anti-Jewish measures—including the expulsion of Jews from Andalusia—allegedly taken on the initiative of the Crown. But these measures had not ended the danger from Christian-Jewish intercourse, "for every day it appears that the Jews continue their evil designs where they live."[45] Only complete expulsion would end the perils created for Christians by intercourse with the Jews, whose proselytizing had become a disturbing element in the life of Castilian cities.

IF THE DECREE OF EXPULSION represented a concession to the *converso* side in the fifteenth-century debate on the Jewish question, it also represented a dramatic reversal of the Crown's centuries-old policy of protection for Jews. Pressure from *converso*-influenced city councils brought about this dramatic reversal. This pressure took the form of anti-Semitic city ordinances, ordinances that the Crown would never have tolerated were it not for the key military and economic role played by the cities during the Granadan war.

[43] Oropesa, quoted in Amador de los Ríos, *História social, política y religiosa*, 705.
[44] Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts*, 74.
[45] Edict of the expulsion of the Jews, quoted in Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión*, 373.

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Although the close alliance between the Crown and the urban oligarchies had begun during the War of Succession with the creation of the Santa Hermandad, the Granadan conflict tipped the balance in the alliance in favor of the towns, for the success of the Crown's war policy became increasingly dependent on the support of the urban elites. As noted above, from the very start of the Granadan war the Hermandad furnished the Crown with the bulk of its army; the Crown also owed much of its financial support to the "ordinary" and "extraordinary" contributions that were voted by the towns meeting in yearly juntas. There is considerable evidence to suggest that these juntas were of the nature of a Cortes and that the Crown both permitted and acceded to demands for redress of grievances.[46] Thus, although no formal Cortes was called from 1480 to 1489, it appears that the cities were not without an effective way of making their views known to the monarchy during the war years.

The later years of the conflict saw the role of the towns grow in importance. Urban contributions to the costs of war rose dramatically from 1489. In one month of that year Murcia alone paid more than 270,900 maravedis toward the salaries of troops serving at the front, and it also sent substantial quantities of grain and barley.[47] In the same year Jerez de la Frontera averaged 1,500,000 maravedis per month in salary payments, Hermandad payments, and food supplies.[48] Soldiers sent to the siege of Beaza from the Hermandad received a total of 41,929,228 maravedis from the towns during the course of the year. In addition to these direct payments the towns contributed to the war with forced loans. Some 145,809,985 maravedis were borrowed by the Crown from cities and wealthy private persons from 1489 to 1491.[49]

In return for this support the Crown adopted a passive attitude toward war profiteering by members of the urban patriciate and allowed members of this group to take over common lands and resources despite strong protests from the *pecheros*.[50] Perhaps even more significant than the economic gains were the political concessions the urban oligarchies obtained during the war years. In many places town councils launched campaigns aimed at concentrating all local political power in their hands and thereby reducing the prerogatives and immunities of the corregidor and his assistants.

Aside from presiding over council meetings the corregidor possessed con-

[46] *Cartas Reales* (hereafter *CR*), 1475–88, fols. 194–96, Archivo Municipal de Murcia (hereafter AMM).

[47] Juan Torres Fontes, "Las tribulaciones del concejo murciano en octubre y noviembre de 1489," *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia*, 14 (1955): 209.

[48] See *AC* for 1489, AMJF.

[49] Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Milicia y Economia en la Guerra de Granada* (Valladolid, 1964), 55, 79.

[50] See the following for references to the seizure of common land by *regidores* (town councilors) and *jurados* during the war: *AC*, July 7, 1483, fol. 162; Oct. 26, 1483, fol. 176, AMJF; *CR*, 1478–88, Apr. 4, 1487, fols. 210–11v.; 1484–95, Oct. 22, 1492, fol. 32, AMM; *Registro General del Sello* (hereafter *RGS*), May 2, 1489, fol. 181; May 5, 1491, fol. 117; Mar. 13, 1492, fol. 145;

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siderable powers, including both civil and criminal jurisdiction, responsibility for the collection of subsidies voted by the Cortes, and supervision of municipal revenues.[51] He also had a very substantial salary paid out of these revenues and was assigned various officials who assisted him in carrying out his duties. During the war years the city councils made a determined effort to strip the corregidor of almost all his powers.

In Jerez the *regidores* (town councilors) seized the opportunity presented by the capture of the corregidor Juan de Robles during a battle in Granada to overthrow completely the corregidorial government. The municipal fortifications were seized, and Robles's subordinates were illegally suspended and then subjected to an investigation of their conduct while in office. The Crown made strenuous and unsuccessful efforts to coerce the *regidores* into surrendering the posts and restoring them to Robles's appointees. Finally, on May 18, 1483, the *regidores* allowed Robles's officials to reassume their offices, but only after they had been granted immunity from royal investigation and obtained a substantial bribe. In 1488 the governing oligarchy won an even more sweeping victory over the corregidor by sharply reducing his salary and compensations. Two years later the Crown permitted the city to collect fines from those who had violated city ordinances. These fines had previously gone to the corregidor. His freedom in judging criminal cases was also sharply curtailed by the requirement that two *regidores* sit with him in certain appeal cases.[52]

In Murcia the city successfully appealed against the reappointment of Diego de Carvajal as corregidor. Subsequent holders of the office found their powers increasingly circumscribed in both civil and criminal cases.[53] By 1492 the *regidores* had attained such a strong position that they were simply spending money from the city treasury "without consulting the corregidor."[54] In Cuenca the corregidor had long since lost his right to supervise disbursements from the local treasury. The *regidores* of Alcalá la Real dealt more directly with their corregidor by arranging for his assassination in July 1492. The Crown immediately ordered an investigation, then suspended it without punishing the *regidores* and *jurados* who had been apprehended.[55]

The dominant position attained by the urban oligarchy in the last years of the war is perhaps best illustrated by the complaints from *pecheros* that flooded both the court and the town councils. The *pecheros* of Ávila complained that the *regidores* had imposed new taxes on essential food-

Aug. 6, 1492, fol. 134; Aug. 14, 1492, fol. 75; Oct. 14, 1492, fol. 49, Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS).

[51] R. S. Chamberlain, "The Corregidor in Castile in the Sixteenth Century and the *Residencia* as Applied to the Corregidor," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 23 (1943): 236.

[52] *AC*, Mar. 26, 1483, fols. 89v.–90; Oct. 26, 1483, fol. 176; Mar. 26, 1490, fols. 140–40v., AMJF.

[53] *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1483; June 14, 1484.

[54] *CR*, 1484–95, Oct. 29, 1492, AMM.

[55] *RGS*, Nov. 20, 1485, fol. 31; Aug. 10, 1492, fol. 174, AGS.

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stuffs and diverted the money to their own use. Complaints of similar abuses were received from *pecheros* of Leon, Murcia, and other cities.[56]

Thus the outbreak of the war that meant the end of the long Moorish presence in the Iberian peninsula also saw Castilian urban patriciates launch a political offensive aimed at bringing the *pecheros* firmly under their control and at eliminating or reducing the powers and exemptions of the corregidor and his officials. The same dependence on support from the towns that forced the Crown to yield greater political control to their ruling elites also allowed the *converso* members of those elites to put their anti-Jewish program into practice by passing city ordinances that were damaging to the local Jewish community. Broadly speaking, the anti-Jewish actions taken by *converso*-influenced councils had three major goals: removal of the Jews to a location where their contact with Christians would be minimized, destruction of their commercial activity, and withdrawal of their exemptions from war and local taxes and Hermandad contributions.

Pressure for the segregation of Jews from the Christian community can be traced at least as far back as 1477. For example, on December 28, 1477, a royal order was sent to Soria that authorized the relocation of the Jewish *aljama* to a place remote from the rest of the community. The letter accurately reflects *converso* views about the dangers posed to all Christians by their continued social intercourse with Jews: "In order to avoid the injury to Christians that follows from Jews living among them, we order that from now on the Jews cannot live among Christians." In 1478 the *aljama* of Caceres was also subjected to a relocation order.[57]

Finally, bowing to heavy pressure from the towns, the monarchy conceded a general segregation law at the Cortes of Toledo. Once again the law reflects typical *converso* ideas. Since social intercourse with Jews was dangerous for all Christians, the Jews must live in an area as remote from Christians as possible. A royal commissioner would be sent to ensure that the change in residence was carried out. The law imposed strict prohibition on Jewish ownership of houses outside the new ghetto, and Jews were forbidden to sleep outside its confines for even one night. From April 1481 special royal commissioners fanned out across Castile to implement the provisions of the Toledo decree. What may have begun as an attempt to defuse growing anti-Semitic agitation by making Jews less conspicuous became the first decisive step toward the destruction of Jewish community life.

Since Jews were forced to move into one specific quarter, property owners in that area could charge exorbitant prices for their houses. The Jews of Badajoz complained "because those persons owning or renting the said houses to them [the Jews] have been demanding twice their actual value."[58]

[56] *Ibid.*, Mar. 12, 1489, fol. 342; July 21, 1490, fol. 37.
[57] Quoted in Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión*, 133, 140.
[58] *RGS*, May 15, 1490, fol. 337, AGS.

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Despite royal prohibitions against excessive charges the abuses continued. A royal proclamation against overcharging in February 1491 records the complaints of the Jews of Caceres.

> When we [the Crown] ordered the Jews to live apart, the assigned area was one where there were many houses owned by Christians. . . . And the Christians, seeing their need for those houses, rented them for a great deal more than what had been paid for them before the said *Juderia* was designated.[59]

The Jews' real problems frequently began only after they had moved. Many of the assigned areas were too small, but when the Jews appealed to the Crown for help in enlarging or improving their quarters, local officials turned hostile. In Palencia the Crown had ordered a local judge, the *licenciado* Segura, to relieve overcrowding in the ghetto he had designated. On June 8, 1491, another royal order was sent, this time to Francisco Francés, who was already investigating the complaints of Jews in Cabezuela. Francés was told to look into reports that Segura had mistreated the Jews of Palencia after they petitioned the Crown for redress. The Jews claimed that Segura had ignored the royal order instructing him to satisfy their demands and had ordered the imprisonment of a messenger they sent to court.[60]

In other places local officials forced the Jews to move a second time. The Jews of Orense were established in a new ghetto in 1481 and lived there in relative tranquillity until 1488. Then local officials "without royal authority" ordered them to move to another location and fined them three thousand maravedis because they did not immediately obey.[61] Palencia Jews were forced to move a second time in 1491 when some *regidores* complained that the area that had been set aside for Jewish occupation gave them "the best houses and streets of the city." In response to this charge the Jews declared that the area reserved for them was almost empty of houses and people, since it was the worst location in the city. The municipal council, however, insisted on a new investigation, claiming that the continued residence of the Jews in the new ghetto was harmful to the city.[62]

The heavy cost of setting up ghettos in new locations and meeting the additional tax burdens imposed by the Granadan war could prove disastrous to the Jews unless they could maintain an active and prosperous commercial life. Many of the new ghettos were unfortunately in areas far removed from the commercial heart of the city. Moreover, new restrictions and pressures on Jewish commerce contributed to the decline of the Jewish community. On September 9, 1485, the city council of Burgos ordered strict observance of several new ordinances that restricted Jewish com-

[59] Quoted in Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión*, 287.
[60] *Ibid.*, 147.
[61] *Ibid.*, 321–22.
[62] *RGS*, May 22, 1491, [no fol.], AGS.

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merce: "Jews must not enter the houses of Christians except to take work away with them; on Sundays Jews can work only within the ghetto, whose gates must be closed; and Jews cannot enter the houses of Christians to buy or sell used clothing or any other kind of merchandise." Previously, on March 13, 1484, the Jews of Burgos had been expressly forbidden from carrying on a wholesale trade in foodstuffs: "It is a very shameful thing to allow the Jews to buy and sell foodstuffs, because it seems harmful to the commonweal. In order to remedy this we order that henceforth no Jew may buy or sell foodstuffs for resale."[63]

Along with ever-growing pressure against Jewish commerce went demands for an end to Jewish tax exemptions. Originally these demands dealt only with exemption from municipal taxes, but with the start of the war city councils acted to make the Jews subject to levies for the support of the Hermandad war *servicios*. Since the Jews were already paying their own special war taxes and were also subject to heavy forced loans, their inclusion in regular taxation threatened them with ruinous "double taxation." The Crown recognized this danger and as late as February 1486 was disposed to maintain Jewish exemptions in their full rigor. A royal ban on the inclusion of Jews in general war taxes ordered: "Do not levy any tax or imposition on the Jews for the war, for foot soldiers, for the Hermandad or of any other kind."[64] All such taxes were declared null and void.

Soon, however, the junta of Fuente de Sabaco in 1487 revealed the strength of urban sentiment for removal of Jewish exemptions, and the Crown retreated, allowing Jews to be made subject to war *servicios* for the support of the Hermandad. The Crown ordered the Jews to pay "regardless of any letters we have sent exempting the said *aljamas* from payment." At the junta of Adamuz, which was held in 1490, municipal representatives again demanded revocation of Jewish exemptions, and the Crown acceded by confirming its previous order.[65] In Murcia, where local Jews had obtained royal letters protecting them from liability for war taxes other than those collected for the Hermandad, the city council threatened not to collect the war *servicio* of 1491 unless the Crown dropped its protection of Murcia's Jews. The Crown revoked its letters, and the Murcian Jews were subjected to crippling war taxes until the expulsion.[66]

Beginning in the mid-1480s a series of unauthorized expulsions took place throughout Castile. In most places expulsion was not effected by use of force but through the passage of discriminatory municipal ordinances that made the continued existence of Jewish communities virtually impos-

[63] *AC*, Sept. 9, 1485, fols. 32–32v.; Mar. 13, 1484, fol. 20, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.
[64] Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión*, 86–88, 275–76.
[65] *CR*, 1475–88, fols. 194–96; 1484–85, fols. 71–72v., AMM.
[66] On January 9, 1492, just after the news of the fall of Granada had been received in the city, a levy of 50,000 maravedis was ordered to be collected in three days from the Jews in order to pay the salaries of Murcian troops at the front. See the entry for January 9, 1492, fol. 88, in the book of *AC*, AMM.

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sible. These new ordinances struck at the Jewish community's ability to provide itself with food supplies through access to local markets. On November 4, 1488, and June 3, 1489, the cities of Segovia and Medina del Campo respectively passed municipal ordinances limiting Jewish access to markets. In Segovia Jews were prevented from purchasing fish on Fridays or any other day on which fish was brought to market. The city council of Medina del Campo passed an ordinance forbidding merchants coming from outside the city to stop in the *aljama* and sell their goods. By this order the Jews were deprived of such necessities as coal, wood, and baked bread.[67]

The city council of Burgos, which had already passed its order of September 9, 1485, severely limiting Jewish commerce, went one crucial step further in April 1486 when it placed a limit on the number of Jews who could reside in the city. Then, in an order clearly aimed at destroying the long-term viability of the Jewish community, it ordered the expulsion of all Jews married within the last three years. On March 1, 1486, the Crown took note of the Jews' warning that if these local ordinances went into effect Jews with marriageable sons or daughters would have to leave the city. Accordingly the Crown asked the city to send representatives to court to discuss the matter.[68]

Partial expulsion of the Jews of Burgos was followed by the complete expulsion of those of Valmaseda. On December 4, 1488, the Crown ordered local officials to allow the Jews to return after Rabbi Abraham Najara complained that "you [the city council] by your own authority and without our permission and order have expelled the Jews from the said town, where they and their ancestors have lived for more than one hundred years." Of course the royal order was not obeyed; finally, on January 30, 1489, the Crown ordered officials of Vizcaya to see that the Jews were compensated for the property they had lost.[69] Ruined by forced changes of residence, double taxation, and discriminatory ordinances, the Jews were being forced out of the economy and society of Castile, while the Crown, subjected to enormous pressure, could not effectively intervene to halt the process. Finally the pressure became overwhelming, and in a sudden reversal of their policies Ferdinand and Isabella capitulated by issuing the edict of expulsion.

Despite the measured tone of the decree, there is much evidence that the decision to expel the Jews was poorly timed from the viewpoint of the interests of the Crown and was taken under great pressure. The most direct proof comes from the financial documents of the 1490s. If the expulsion had really been a planned, carefully prepared action, the Crown would surely have terminated tax-farming contracts on Jewish taxes before or immediately after the date of the expulsion. Yet we find that the brothers

[67] Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión*, 326–27.
[68] *Ibid.*, 277.
[69] *Ibid.*, 313, 317–19.

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Alfonso and Diego de Avila were allowed to purchase the right to collect the *servicio y medio servicio* and *cabeza de pecho* of the Jews for 1490–94.[70] Rabí Mayr, who, along with the *converso* Luís de Alcala, farmed most of the Crown's ordinary revenues and paid most of the Crown's normal expenses, was also given new contracts running through the expulsion date. His general contract to collect the ordinary revenues was renewed on January 1, 1492, to run for three years.[71] As further evidence of the Crown's reliance on this Jewish official, he was entrusted with the collection of 271,250 maravedis, owed the Crown by the tax farmers of Jaen.[72] The enormous confusion that must have followed his departure probably accounts for his appointment on June 23, 1492, to the lucrative post of *contador mayor* to Prince Juan, shortly following a hurried baptism at which the monarchs themselves were present. The collection of taxes by Mayr and Alcala had already been greatly disrupted by the part of the decree that prohibited payment of debts to departing Jews. Many minor tax farmers working with Mayr and Alcala were Jewish, so that "because of the embargo that was placed on the debts owed to the said Jews neither they nor their factors can collect any of the said debts nor can they execute the payments that we have ordered them to make."[73] The Crown had to order suspension of the debt provision of the edict. Despite the Crown's efforts to help them, the two tax farmers found their collections seriously disrupted and requested redress. The order to pay them compensation contains a graphic description of the financial disruption caused by the explusion:

> Because of the exile of the Jews that was ordered by Their Highnesses, many bankruptcies took place in their [Jewish tax collectors'] districts; in some because their tax collectors were Jewish and did not put them [the districts] in the hands of Christian tax collectors, and in others because Jewish business ceased on account of the exile, leading to loss of revenue.[74]

A carefully planned expulsion would surely have taken account of the central role of Jews in tax collection and business. The historian would expect to find a gradual replacement of Jewish tax farmers by Christians sometime before the expulsion. The disruptive blows dealt by the edict of expulsion to Crown finances, still largely in Jewish hands, testifies not only to the Crown's unwillingness to expel the Jews but to the sudden, unplanned nature of the expulsion and the pressure under which order of expulsion was given.[75]

[70] *Escribania Mayor de Rentas* (hereafter *EMR*), leg. 51, AGS.
[71] *CR*, Jan. 1, 1492, fols. 89–90, AMM.
[72] *EMR*, leg. 51, AGS.
[73] Quoted in Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión*, 485.
[74] *EMR*, leg. 54, AGS.
[75] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2: 433, mentions the new financial regulations of December 1491, which permitted cancellation of tax contracts by royal decree, as evidence that even though such contracts were issued to Jewish tax farmers running through 1494 the financial dislocation consequent on a Jewish expulsion was foreseen. For Baer the new regula-

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THE FAMOUS EDICT of March 30, 1492, thus emerges as the end product of a fairly long historical process. The creation of masses of converted Jews after the anti-Semitic rioting of 1391 and their rapid rise to social prominence began the chain of events that led to the expulsion. The *conversos* were extremely vulnerable to attack because of their origins, and by the mid-fifteenth century Old Christian writers were demanding the exclusion of *conversos* from public life on the grounds that they were crypto-Jews deeply hostile to Christianity. Finally, in an effort to solve the problem, Ferdinand and Isabella introduced the Inquisition, to separate the sound Christian element among the *conversos* from their faithless brethren, the Judaizers.

The reaction of the *conversos* to this variety of threats was twofold; they obstructed the work of the Inquisition on a local level by using their positions and influence in the city councils; simultaneously they developed their own ideological stance and program for dealing with the Jewish problem. By the 1460s *conversos,* who maintained that Old and New Christians were united in their beliefs and faced the same danger—the hostility of the Jews—were calling for the stricter segregation of Jews and for their exclusion from employment that would bring them into contact with Christians. Meanwhile the growing dependence of the Crown on support from the Castilian urban oligarchies heavily penetrated by *conversos* facilitated implementation of the anti-Semitic program of *converso* intellectuals.

From the first days of the War of Succession Ferdinand and Isabella looked to the towns for support, first against the great feudal magnates of Castile and then against the Portuguese allies of the Pretender Juana. The Granadan war sharply increased royal reliance on the towns, which furnished the bulk of the troops and supplies needed for the conflict. In return for this support the urban oligarchs demanded substantial political concessions; they sought to reduce the powers of the corregidor and to abrogate the independent position of the Jews, who formed self-governing communes not subject to control by the oligarchy.

The strong *converso* element in the oligarchy could count on support for its anti-Semitic program from other elements (*pecheros,* knights, other members of the governing elite), while the Crown, hampered by the exigencies of the war, could not effectively intervene in support of the Jews. Anti-Semitic agitation first centered on demands for the segregation

tions were aimed at allowing for the timely removal of Jewish tax farmers: "The way had been paved for ejecting the Jews from the body politic without upsetting internal administrative arrangements." The considerable evidence of financial confusion, however, and the disorganization in Crown accounts that occurred as a result of the expulsion would seem to indicate that the regulations were not used and were perhaps never intended to be used to avoid the consequences of the expulsion. Another possible explanation for the passage of new regulations relating to tax farming at that time may be found in the growing pressure from municipal oligarchies for direct control of the collection of royal rents in opposition to the tax farmers. For an instance in which a tax farmer's contract was abruptly cancelled in response to local pressure and its future collection placed in the hands of local officials, see *Cuadernos,* May 6, 1489, leg. 2, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

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of Jews and their removal to remote parts of cities. In its second stage the program called for the exclusion of Jews from economic life. The third and final stage was reached when Jews were expelled, first from towns and then from entire regions, by the actions of city councils. Although Ferdinand and Isabella made strenuous efforts to protect the Jews, they at last had to yield and acknowledge the *de facto* exclusion of the Jews from Castilian life by decreeing their mass expulsion from the country.

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Fig. 1. The badge of religious identification is worn on the chest of this Jew. Detail from a fourteenth-century wall painting. Transept, Tarragona Cathedral. Photograph: Mas.

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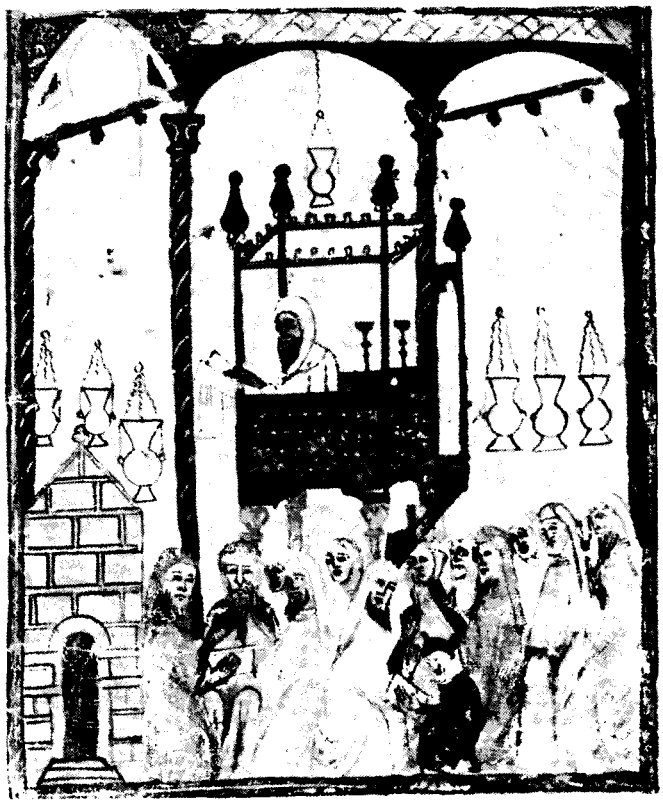


Fig. 2, left. Unable to read the *Haggadah* in their homes, illiterate Jews congregate in a Spanish synagogue to hear the *Haggadah* recited by a *hazzan*. Illumination from a fourteenth-century Spanish *Haggadah*. MS. Or. 2884, fol. 17v. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



Facing Page

Fig. 3. Illumination from a facsimile edition of the "Alba Bible" ([Madrid] 1920), vol. 1, facing p. [37]. A translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew to Spanish, the original "Alba Bible" was prepared in the fifteenth century by Rabbi Moses Arragel de Guadalfajara, who is portrayed kneeling in the foreground (note the badge of the Jew on his cloak), as he presents his translation to Don Luís de Guzmán, grand master of the order of Calatrava. On either side and above these figures are knights of the order. Above, where they attend Jews, the actions are described by Spanish inscriptions: the knights feed; offer drink, shoes, and clothes; visit the sick; and bury. The grand master is seated on his throne in the background.

Fig. 4, left. Jews conducting a Passover service at home. Illumination from a fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript written in Hebrew. MS. Or. 2884, fol. 18r. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

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Fig. 5, above. This detail from a fifteenth-century sculpture is an example of traditional Christian iconography. The Synagogue is represented on the right as an unchaste figure who cannot see the truth; the broken staff she carries symbolizes the vanquishment of the Synagogue by the Church. The figure on the left, which represents the Church, is depicted as chaste; as she is not blindfolded, she is able to see the truth. Sculpture by Gil de Siloe. Retable, Chapel of Santa Ana, Burgos Cathedral. Photograph: Mas.

Fig. 6, below. A nineteenth-century painter's depiction of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in the fifteenth century. Emilio Sala, "La expulsión de los judiós de España." 1889. Museo de Arte Moderno, Madrid. Photograph: Mas.



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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Volume 35, *1966;* Volume 36, *1967,* including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by MICHEL FRANÇOIS and NICOLAS TOLU for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. (Published with the assistance of UNESCO and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1969; 1970. Pp. xxviii, 488; cxvi, 510.

The *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* was created in 1926 by the International Committee of Historical Sciences, an organization founded that same year in Geneva. The American Historical Association took the initiative in the formation of the committee and has served as the "national committee" representing the United States. Initially the International Committee's headquarters was in Washington, D.C., and the role of the American representatives was especially strong. With respect to international congresses of historians, that role appears to have remained vigorous, even though the committee's headquarters has long been in Europe. In regard to the *International Bibliography,* however, the extent of American participation and interest, compared to the activities of historians elsewhere, has clearly declined.

Guy Stanton Ford's report of 1949 as the AHA's executive secretary and managing editor indicated that he and Donald C. McKay, the AHA's representatives on the International Committee, had questioned at meetings whether the *International Bibliography* should be continued. When European members of the International Committee argued in the bibliography's behalf, Ford and McKay deferred to their wishes. In 1952 a new standing committee in the AHA, the Committee on International Historical Activities, was created primarily to provide for the representation of American historians on the International Committee. Headed for several years by Waldo G. Leland, the Committee on International Historical Activities became interested in the International Committee's publications, including the *International Bibliography,* and sought to promote their use in the United States. In 1956 Leland recommended that the publications be made readily available in this country through a selected agency and that they be advertised in the *American Historical Review.* Two years later Leland reported that the *International Bibliography* was "holding its own by a narrow margin," and he urged action to increase sales in the United States.

Leland's efforts appear to have had little impact. Since he offered his plea for action in 1958 the *International Bibliography* has rarely been referred to in the reports of the Committee on International Historical Activities. Relatively few copies of the bibliography are now distributed in the United States, and many historians are unaware of its existence. The holdings of the libraries in the Washington area reflect the situation. Among the area libraries cooperating in the *Union List of Serials* (1965) and *A Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the Consortium of Universities of the Metropolitan Washington Area* (1967), five reported files of the *International Bibliography.* Only two of these libraries had acquired the volumes for recent years. Perhaps even more indicative of the prevailing indifference toward, or general ignorance of, the *International Bibliogra-*

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phy in the United States is the fact that it was overlooked in the discussions at the Conference of the Joint Committee on Bibliographical Services to History held at the Belmont Estate, Elkridge, Maryland, in May 1967. The need for bibliographical tools, the uses to which they are put, the merits of various publications, and the prospects for the future (such as the cessation of *Writings on American History*)—all of these topics were discussed. Yet insofar as is revealed by *Bibliography and the Historian* (1968), the conference's published papers, the *International Bibliography* was never mentioned.

The *International Bibliography* merits the attention of libraries and scholars in the United States. Having begun with twenty-four participating nations in 1926, it now contains contributions from thirty-six nations, the Vatican, and five international organizations. The size has increased from 4,908 numbered entries in volume 1 to 8,390 such entries in volume 36. Articles as well as books are included, and in some instances reviews of the books are cited. Most entry numbers are for individual publications, but occasionally numbers are assigned to subjects such as "American Indians," "American Negroes," and "American Slavery," which encompass several publications. The total number of publications listed, therefore, is significantly greater than the total number of entries. The entries are arranged by subject categories, and indexes of people and places are provided. On the cover of the bibliography the title appears in five languages—English, German, Spanish, French, and Italian—that are used on an annually rotating basis to express headings and some of the introductory and editorial matter. Spanish is the language for volume 35, French for volume 36. The Roman alphabet is used throughout, regardless of the language in which the publication was written.

At intervals over the years the *International Bibliography* has contained a list of periodicals from which articles have been selected. Volume 36 has a list of approximately 2,900 periodicals. This is the most extensive up-to-date world list of historical periodicals available, not excepting the combined list of 2,200 periodicals drawn upon for *America: History and Life* and *Historical Abstracts*.

Perhaps the multilingual character of the *International Bibliography* is the major reason for its being less appreciated in this country than in European nations, where historians are often well equipped with language skills. Nonetheless, the American scholar who spends enough time with the bibliography to overcome an initial sense of confusion may find it unexpectedly helpful. If he dwells upon it, he may find it also unexpectedly comforting. At a time when the prestige of history in American colleges and universities is waning, insecure scholars can possibly be reassured by identification with historians in other parts of the world. American historians who cannot go to the international congresses, or those to whom going would be an awkward experience because of language barriers, may discover in the *International Bibliography* an opportunity to engage, vicariously and without embarrassment, in an international endeavor to come to grips with the past, present, and future of our loose and uncertain discipline.

OLIVER H. ORR, JR.
Washington, D.C.

CHARLES COULSTON GILLISPIE, editor in chief. *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Volume 1, *Pierre Abailard—L. S. Berg;* Volume 2, *Hans Berger—Christoph Buys Ballot*. (Published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. xii, 624; x, 628. $35.00 each.

The title of this monumental work is deceptive. Its large folio of thirty-six volumes will be a compendium of the history of science as exemplified in the lives of its great makers. It has been compiled by the elite of the history of science professors. Under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and with the cooperation of scholarly institutions in Italy, France, England, the United States, Germany, Holland, Lebanon, Sweden, Japan, Israel, Poland, and the USSR, an astonishing assemblage of talents has been mobilized not only to make the biographies of eminent scientists available to students and scholars but also, through its structuring of the majority of the essays and the index, to permit the tracing through time of the evolution of the central ideas and thematic content of the science. Of inestimable value are the bibliographic sections

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that give exhaustive accounts of both the primary sources and, where necessary, the exegetical work. The division of the pages into double columns and the use of excellent paper and clear bold type make this collection a research resource that will not damage the eye of the user.

I received only volumes 1 and 2, but as a statistical sample they are quite sufficient to judge the quality of the essays. I read *inter alia* the lives that I knew best: Aristotle (thirty thousand words), Archimedes, Ampère, Albertus Magnus, and thirty others selected from different epochs, cultural regions, and scientific fields. Wherever I could judge or compare to extant and available sources, the scholarship was up to date and economically and gracefully written.

Probably one of the complex problems that the editors faced concerned the amount of mathematical material to include. I found some of the decisions puzzling. Greek geometry was treated extensively—with full proofs and figures; yet the essay on D'Alembert did not include his formulation of the wave equation for a vibrating string—one of the critical turning points in the history of mathematical physics.

In a work as comprehensive as this each specialist may find some minor flaw, but on the basis of what I could examine, one can say without reservation that this set will be a valuable addition to all libraries and a prize possession of every scholar who can find the thirty-five dollars per volume.

ROBERT G. COLODNY
University of Pittsburgh

T. A. DOREY, editor. *Livy*. (Greek and Latin Studies: Classical Literature and Its Influence.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 212. $8.50.

This compilation consists of three essays on Livy (John Briscoe on Books 1–10, Erich Burck on Books 21–30, F. W. Walbank on Books 31–45), four on Livy's "influence" (J. H. Whitfield, "Machiavelli's Use of Livy"; B. Doer, "Livy and the Germans"; and Sheila M. Mason, "Livy and Montesquieu"; K. R. Prowse, "Livy and Macaulay"), and one on Florentine manuscripts of Livy in the fifteenth century (by Albinia de la Mare).

The book was badly planned. The editor denies (p. xii) that he is putting forward "a comprehensive survey," but the work is clearly aimed at students. It was a mistake to ask the first three contributors to write about sections of Livy's history. They fulfilled their assignments (Walbank's chapter is especially good), but some indispensable topics virtually escaped their attention. Hence almost nothing about the historical background against which Livy wrote, or about his political, moral, or religious views (eventually in the chapter on Montesquieu we meet the theory that Livy was a Stoic). Similarly Whitfield and Mason have valuable things to say, but the section on "influence" is far too disjointed for an introductory book. Finally an original piece of research is added, in which de la Mare tidies up the history of the psi and phi groups of manuscripts identified by A. H. McDonald. There is no proper bibliography, obviously essential in a book of this kind.

WILLIAM V. HARRIS
Columbia University

J. G. A. POCOCK. *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History*. New York: Atheneum. 1971. Pp. 290. $10.00.

These eight essays are (all but the first and the last) reprinted from widely scattered learned journals. They concern the transformation of the study of political thought that, it is claimed, has taken place in the last decade. This change is largely due to discovery by re-examination of the language in which politics has been carried on. The employment and exploration of paradigms has enriched the texture of the history of ideas. A paradigm as used here is a controlling concept and theory rather than the simple exemplar of earlier terminology. For some the repeated use of a difficult word will seem excessive and occasionally obscure.

Mr. Pocock is a scholar of great originality. The reprinting in more readily accessible form of "Time, History and Eschatology in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes," of "Burke and the Ancient Constitution," and of "Machiavelli, Harrington and English Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century" is enormously welcome. In these and others his methods are put to practi-

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cal use, and the results are indispensable for reappraisal of his chosen period. There are of course some matters that are still debatable. Mr. Pocock assigns great significance for continuing "neo-Harringtonism" to the role of the first earl of Shaftesbury and Marvell in raising the battle cries of the opposition to Charles II in the seventies. Polemicists of their persuasion made pensions, French influence in government and religion, and standing forces their chief targets. But surely over and above the reading of Harrington's works and the immediate circumstances in which they moved, at least two other influences were important. During the reign of Charles I and particularly in 1641–42 the standing army was a subject of great debate. During the whole period of decline for European "Gothic institutions" Machiavelli and others stressed the possession of mercenary forces as the most important asset of a powerful ruler. The battle between proponents of a standing army and of a militia continued and in the end becomes slightly unreal. In it Shaftesbury is an important figure but perhaps no more of an innovator than some of the protagonists of mid-century whom Harrington had observed or the lessons so clearly exposed in Machiavelli's *Discourses*.

The language of the history of political ideas has been deeply studied in this century. Graham Wallas looked for human nature in politics. T. D. Weldon examined its vocabulary in 1953. Thomas S. Kuhn, whose disciple Mr. Pocock avowedly is, produced a brilliant study, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, in 1962. The Cambridge School has done much and with Mr. Pocock has cleared up some of the difficulties involved in the distinction between philosophy and political theory. Clarity has been achieved in expositions of certain thinkers. But in the abstract, for example in "Politics, Language and Time," the first of Mr. Pocock's essays, the success in not so obvious. Two quotations may illustrate what readers may not find illuminating: "When we define the paradigm as prescribing an authority structure in the act of performing an intellectual (or linguistic) function, it must follow that a multivalent paradigm, simultaneously performing diverse functions in diverse contexts must simultaneously designate and prescribe diverse definitions and distributions of authority" (p. 18). Mr. Pocock says a little later that the history of political thought "might be defined as a history of change in the employment of paradigms, the exploration of paradigms, and the employment of paradigms for the exploration of paradigms" (p. 23). Mr. Pocock's work is worth close attention, and the effort must be made by serious students of the political thought of the past.

CAROLINE ROBBINS
Rosemont, Pennsylvania

GERHART NIEMEYER. *Between Nothingness and Paradise.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971. Pp. ix, 226. $8.95.

Between Nothingness and Paradise is a study of the intellectual structure or the thought patterns inherent in every total critique of society. Marx, Lenin, Goebbels, and Bakunin—Professor Niemeyer affirms—were all exponents of the total critique, meaning the "total rejection of the existing order." Basically, there are two such recurring structures. First, the axiological or total rejection based on a concept of value. Past and present society are rejected because they have not corresponded to a transcendent value—for instance, human nature. Second, the teleological, or total rejection based on the notion of ends. History is only judged from the vantage point of a presumed perfect final goal, every other period of history being considered corrupt in comparison to this ultimate end. The axiological and teleological total critiques do share common denominators however: both lack a sense of connectedness to the past and any understanding of ultimate being. The last three chapters of the book address themselves to the problem Albert Camus first set forth in *The Rebel*, the limitations on justifiable rebellion. The author offers a horizon of limits, within which critiques of society should be contained and thereby legitimized. The prophets of Israel, Socrates, St. Augustine were all critics of society, but not total critics because they accepted the concept of "realm," the inviolable connectedness between past and present, between man and the divine. The bias of the book is clear, echoing de Maistre and Bonald. Professor Niemeyer is a theist who is committed to the idea that the rejection of God or of divinity is a sure prelude to nihil-

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ism. The author offers a religious conservative apologetic, a Thomistic theological antidote to the radicalism of the modern age. It is the Left that bears the brunt of Professor Niemeyer's attack, and he overzealously associates the Marxian Left with nihilistic activism, total terror, and totalitarian power. Atheism need not inevitably lead to Stalinism. Nevertheless, deeply influenced by Eric Voegelin, contemporary conservatism has a formidable advocate in Professor Niemeyer, and readers will come away illumined by the way a subtle mind uses the concepts of God and order to build a Weltanschauung of the Right.

NORMAN LEVINE
University of Maryland

JULIUS I. LÖWENSTEIN. *Vision und Wirklichkeit: Marx contra Marxismus.* (Veröffentlichungen der List Gesellschaft E.V., Number 65. Series A: Studien des List Instituts.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1970. Pp. xiv, 170. DM 25.

Historians have long been indebted to Professor Löwenstein for his important study, *Hegels Staatsidee. Ihr Doppelgesicht und ihr Einfluss im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1927). He has increased the indebtedness by his latest book, a concise and stimulating study of the conflict between Marx and Marxism.

It has been the recent fashion for scholars attracted to Marx but repulsed by the determinism and materialism in some of his thinking and in the thinking of some of his more insistent disciples to look to the young Marx as an antidote. The young Marx is, for these scholars, the authentic Marx: humanistic in outlook, concerned with man's alienation, seeking to identify the freedom of the human spirit. There is, they argue, a conflict between the humanism of Marx and the rigid determinism of the Marxist system erected by his eager disciples.

Professor Löwenstein rejects this interpretation. He insists that a closed circle of dogmatic logic united the humanistic and materialistic phases of Marx's thinking. To dwell on the humanism or the materialism is to remain within that circle: the arguments of Lukács and Lenin are simply gyrations within the same circle of logic and, as such, variations of each other. Neither position legitimately forms a basis for analyzing the possibilities of and dangers to human freedom in an industrial society.

It is, rather, in the mature writing of the late Marx, Professor Löwenstein insists, that the dogmatism is transcended and the avenue from Marxism to human freedom is opened. What Marx perceived in his last years was that freedom was not necessarily guaranteed by the elimination of capitalism. Indeed, in an industrial economy—even in a socialist one—men may still be the slaves of things, tyrannized by machinery, techniques, and apparatus. Neither a successful proletarian revolution nor the dialectic can guarantee that men will be free, that human alienation will end, or that workers will be liberated. In offering these pessimistic doubts as warnings Marx had a presentiment of a force larger than capitalism that was operating in history. According to Professor Löwenstein, Max Weber emerged as the authentic interpreter of this vision of the late Marx when Weber delineated that force as rationalization and bureaucratization, a force of which capitalism was but a part. Because Marx correctly foretold the socialization of production, Professor Löwenstein concludes, Marx remains the great prophet of industrial society. But the challenge of developing human freedom within that society must be based on the insights of the late Marx, insights developed into the careful analysis of Weber rather than on the notions of Lukács and Lenin, who never escaped from the dogmatism of Marx's early metaphysical speculation.

A bald summary does not do justice to the carefully documented argument presented in this book. Some may doubt whether it is helpful still to pursue the analysis of industrial society within the confines of Marx's thinking rather than to transcend Marx entirely. In any case Professor Löwenstein's perceptive and thoughtful work manages to establish a new level for the historical debate about the authentic Marx.

WILLIAM J. BRAZILL
Michigan State University

MARY DOUGLAS, editor. *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations.* (A.S.A. Monographs, Number 9.) London: Tavistock Publications; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York, 1970. Pp. xxxviii, 387. $10.00.

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This is an important book, and the following review is designed to commend it to the attention of historians for whom anthropological theory and the study of witchcraft accusations may not have been primary objects of concern. The volume contains an introductory essay by Mary Douglas, which surveys research on witchcraft conducted by students or spiritual heirs of the distinguished British anthropologist, Evans Pritchard. The papers following the introduction represent two different approaches to the subject: those of anthropologists working in Africa, Hispanic America, the Middle East, and the Pacific; and those of historians concerned with late antiquity (Peter Brown), medieval Europe (Norman Cohn), and Tudor-Stuart England (Keith Thomas and Alan MacFarlane). Constraints of space permit me to concentrate upon only those portions of the book most likely to prove of interest to readers of the *AHR*—namely, the introductory essay and the historical studies.

Professor Douglas suggests that Evans Pritchard's successors simplified and systematized his richly suggestive book on Azande witchcraft (1937), making of it an authentic social science paradigm. Witchcraft beliefs, so the paradigm held, constituted an "explanation of misfortune." To accuse someone of witchcraft provided an approved outlet for aggression, thus keeping society on its tracks or, more precisely, preserving the homeostatic balance that any culture needs if it is to survive. Both a liberal philosophy and the conditions under which he worked encouraged the anthropologist to think in terms of "homeostasis" and to look for the function of witchcraft in preserving it among those African societies that were his particular objects of investigation. As a liberal, he was appalled by the disequilibrium, the destruction of homeostasis, occasioned when European imperialists and colonists intruded upon indigenous cultures. As an anthropologist, his research necessarily embraced only a briefly contemporary chapter in the history of the peoples he studied. Even when he drew upon their oral traditions, he heard only what the current carriers of that tradition deemed worthy of transmission to the succeeding generation. The anthropologist thus lacked the long range of materials that the historian of Europe could use to delineate change in witchcraft beliefs. He was little disposed, further, to look for the function once performed by witchcraft accusations within that European society whose direct heir he was now somewhat ashamed to be. If early modern Europe had suffered in the grip of the witchcraft mania this was merely an aberration of a sick society. Most historians, if they thought about witchcraft at all, would have agreed with him.

Recent research has altered perspectives in both disciplines. Like any good paradigm, the homeostatic viewpoint has stimulated research, the results of which it can no longer explain, and anthropologists are currently in search of a new structural framework. Historians, to judge from the present volume, have gone to school with the anthropologists and turned their insights to good purpose. To cite some examples: accusations of sorcery or witchcraft may flourish in a closely knit and competitive society if one's pride allows one to admit that a rival has succeeded only through the aid of more than human powers. Such were the motives leading charioteers and rhetors (roughly, "lawyers") in the later Roman Empire to accuse their victorious opponents of a resort to sorcery. Such were the reasons why intellectuals in the service of the princely courts of early modern Europe fostered the witchcraft "mania." An accusation thereof might cut down some enemy whose pursuit of place or patronage had outstripped the best human efforts of the accuser.

The phobias they fostered from on high fell upon receptive ground in those equally closely knit villages where the witch had worked her harm from time immemorial. Charitable institutions in late sixteenth-century England, for example, were lacking to support the aged and impoverished widow. Reduced to begging at her neighbor's door, she often found as little response to her request for charity as does today's solicitor for the worthy cause. The unreceptive householder still shuts his door with a certain twinge of the conscience; how much more heavily must the burden of guilt have weighed in an age that continued to talk seriously about the obligations of Christian brotherhood. Should a cow later die, or impotency ensue, what better way to rid oneself of guilt than to launch an accusation of witchcraft in such matters against an old woman without the resources or family to protect her?

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The examples cited are only a few among the insights that the historian of witchcraft may discover in current anthropological research. Readers with an interest in the history of the early Church will learn much from Brown's paper on sorcery in the later Roman Empire, a suggestive contribution to the growing literature on the social background of early Christianity. The volume is recommended, finally, as a case study in the creation of a social science paradigm through some misapprehension of the purposes of its original formulation and in the obsolescence of that same paradigm thanks to the very research it has engendered.

JOHN L. TEALL
Mount Holyoke College

J. H. PARRY. *Trade and Dominion: The European Overseas Empires in the Eighteenth Century*. (Praeger History of Civilization.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. xvii, 408. $15.00.

In this work Parry presents his analysis of what he posits as "the second stage" in the overseas expansion of Europe. The "first stage" he elucidated nine years ago in his fundamental study, *The Age of Reconnaissance*. The "third stage of industrial dominance" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will, I hope, be appearing in the not too distant future. But even as things stand at present, we now have in Parry's completed works two excellent texts for use in introducing students to the expansion of Europe during the pre-industrial period.

Trade and Dominion, a title that happily depicts the major theme of the book, begins with a series of five chapters that characterize the areas and define the structure within which Europeans operated colonies and informal empires at the dawn of the eighteenth century. Spanish America, the South Atlantic and West Indies, North America, the Indian Ocean, the East Indies, and the China Sea are the locales delineated in terms both of their traditional and their colonial aspects. The depictions of the Iberian colonies in the Americas illustrate best the author's certainty of touch and superior finesse.

Even more original and perceptive are the five chapters of part 2 that describe the relations between developments in the European homelands and the overseas colonies in trade, administration, settlement, war, and peace. The contemporaries of John Law, Montesquieu, and Adam Smith were not certain themselves about whether or not, or to what degree, trade was linked to dominion or what relationship would best balance the conflicting interests in the homeland with those at work overseas. Parry successfully describes and traces this intricate pattern of tensions, and as a consequence he almost never treats overseas episodes in isolation as "mere events" remotely related to the affairs of Europe.

Part 3 characterizes the period from 1763 to 1790 as a "second age of discovery" during which the Pacific Ocean was systematically explored. This bold periodization, while interesting, leads to strained comparisons with the age of reconnaissance that distract from rather than elucidate the period. For example, the parallelisms shown between the achievements of Cook and Magellan (pp. 254–56) add nothing to the noble narrative recounting the eighteenth-century voyages. And the two chapters on ships and sailors and charts and navigators explain technical matters of the sailing age so clearly and succinctly that they certainly constitute their own excuse for being. Equally original, though perhaps not so neatly executed, is the chapter on "introductions and dispersals," which surveys the exploitation of the Pacific for new resources and markets.

The final section and the conclusion provide a splendid background to the "British century" of maritime and imperial dominance. Here it is shown how tensions between the proponents of trade and those of dominion contributed to the changes effected in commercial patterns, industrial growth, administrative reform, and humanitarian concern for the inhabitants of colonies. In examining the transition of the colonies at this early date from being suppliers of raw materials to consumers of manufactured goods Parry focuses on India. The chapter on agents of government assigns to the beginnings of the administrative revolution a strategic role in the transformation of the imperial system. In reviewing the relations between wards and guardians Parry discusses the controversy over slavery in terms of the growth of enlightened principles rather than of economic self-interest.

Ninety well-chosen illustrations and seven maps illuminate the text; both sets of illustra-

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tive materials are distinguished by the large amount of attention paid to nautical and navigational matters. The notes appear at the end of the book, always an annoyance to serious readers, and they are followed by a list of the works cited. The index is adequate. The book as a whole is a delight to read, for it is elegantly written, sprinkled with puckish asides, and almost free of typographical errors.

DONALD F. LACH
University of Chicago

LOYD S. SWENSON, JR. *The Ethereal Aether: A History of the Michelson-Morley-Miller Aether-Drift Experiments, 1880–1930.* With a foreword by GERALD HOLTON. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1972. Pp. xxii, 361. $10.00.

This is the first book-length study of the Michelson-Morley experiment, the most important of many efforts to detect effects supposed to arise from the motion of the earth through the electromagnetic aether. Everyone knows that the failure of these attempts plunged the physicists into great perplexity and distress. Einstein's theory of relativity eventually convinced most of them that the concept of the aether was misleading and expendable. Much the same thing can be said of the book under review.

Amid much puffery about the need for a new "sociohistorical" treatment of physics, Professor Swenson gives us a standard and banal story. He begins with a survey of physics since Newton, continues with biographical data about the chief actors, and then pursues the experiment in its several guises and varying rationale. Were this last adequately done, one would happily ignore the absence of the advertised methodological innovation. But Swenson does not even provide a satisfactory guide to the technique of the experiment or to its sources of error, many of which could swamp the effect being sought. Instead he chooses to allow Michelson and Morley to speak for themselves via unannotated photo-duplications of three of their relevant papers, some of which contain errors (e.g., "d" for "d_1" in the second equation on page 249) or conceptual blunders (e.g., the estimate of the fringe shift on pages 250–51).

One might accept the want of technical guidance if Swenson gave a useful account of the concept of the aether in fin-de-siècle physics. Again disappointment. Except for a passing reference in his last chapter he nowhere intimates that the aether played various parts, not all of which were menaced by the null results of Michelson and Morley. Moreover, he does not seem to recognize that the battle over the aether fundamentally was a debate over the nature of physical theory, over the sorts of entities acceptable (or required) in a sound physics. It had primarily to do with concepts and techniques, not with substances.

The weakness of the book is the more regrettable because the author has taken pains to assemble a good bibliography, to interview appropriate persons, and to consult the most pertinent American archives.

J. L. HEILBRON
University of California, Berkeley

CECIL JOHNSON. *Communist China & Latin America, 1959–1967.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 324. $9.95.

Numerous articles and references in larger works on the subject of this study have appeared during the past half-decade. Johnson's volume, with repetitious documentation and verbiage, is challenged on several points.

My primary annoyance concerns biased, smug, and turgid analysis of what for the social (and political) scientist could have represented unemotional dissection of Chinese ideological imperialism in post-Castro Latin America. The excess of quotation marks—used for emphasis—is, for lack of a better term, "cute." It destroys, however, any semblance of objectivity. The pulpit-pounding approach utilized demonstrates remarkable shallowness concerning the most rudimentary truisms of international politics.

The naive perception of the relationship of ideology to power would be amusing were it not so damaging. Sumner stated long ago that "if you want war [or power], nourish a doctrine." Seemingly, Johnson has never been able to internalize this basic political strategy. If the author is horror-struck and/or pious when discovering that the Chinese have been ideologically impure, how much more shattering if he were to understand realistically that Chinese interests in the Third World are based on a de-

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sire for global power rather than the messianic spreading of Maoism!

Agonized discussion of ideology deletes any meaningful notion of diversity that demands the Chinese solution for Latin American Marxists. Why not a simply-stated differentiation between Peking "Voluntarism" and Moscovite "Determinism"? Such analysis is tersely negated (p. 31). An additional accusatory remark (p. 52) prohibits disagreement with Johnson's simplistic attack on a China "discovered" engaged in the most elementary of foreign policy techniques—rhetoric and/or Marxist "doublethink." "Pragmatism," utilized so pejoratively throughout the study, is embodied essentially in voluntaristic thought. Are "pragmatism," relativism, revisionism *ad infinitum* so foreign to the totality of international behavior? Is Johnson a disciple of *pure* Marxist Leninism?

Positively, sections on Sinoist organizations in various nation-states are one redeeming feature. Repeated usage of the term "Jacobin Left" might well persuade John Kautsky to press Johnson specifically: "The frequently asked question whether leaders like . . . Castro . . . are 'genuine' Communists is . . . meaningless; such nationalists have come to be like Communists because Communists have come to be like them." Hence is resolved for me Johnson's *Angst* concerning the conflict between ideology and power for change in traditional societies.

WILLIAM R. GARNER
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

ANCIENT

CHARLES BURNEY and DAVID MARSHALL LANG. *The Peoples of the Hills: Ancient Ararat and Caucasus.* (History of Civilisation.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1972. Pp. xv, 323. $15.00.

In this masterly and expertly written narrative the two learned authors offer a concise history of the Armenians and the Georgians from their earliest obscure origins to the end of the Middle Ages.

Until recently our knowledge of these gallant and gifted peoples of the hills and of their scenic upland country extending from the highlands of eastern Asia Minor to and including parts of the Caucasus was mostly based on classical writers. But within the last several decades archeological finds and anthropological and philological studies have illuminated this whole region (including northwestern Iran). The result has been considerable modification of the long-accepted views. Mr. Burney carries his part of this fascinating and intriguing story in the first five chapters (pp. 1–182), with the sure touch of a working archeologist, from the earliest settlements in the sixth millennium B.C. to the sixth century B.C. Professor Lang surveys the history and institutions, the arts, architecture, and literature, placing due emphasis on the most important role played by Christianity in the turbulent history of these peoples. Mr. Burney's view that from the sixth millennium cultural influence "flowed from the highlands down into the Mesopotamian plains" (p. 32) seems quite novel, though perhaps plausible. In subsequent times we have the tide reversed. But even then we find Urartuan influence in the architecture of Achaemenid Iran, as shown in the sixth-century B.C. Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae and perhaps even in the Great Hall of Persepolis.

This pioneering work on these relatively little-known peoples is a model of cooperative scholarship not only on the part of its two authors but also in the actual first-hand cooperation of Armenian and Georgian authors in the Soviet Union, to whose valuable works glowing tribute is paid. The book is profusely illustrated with photographs of archeological finds and significant church buildings. There is a valuable list of notes (pp. 267–310) and a useful index.

A. O. SARKISSIAN
Library of Congress

J. D. EVANS. *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands: A Survey.* [London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1971. Pp. ix, 260, 45 plans, 67 figures, 70 plates. $48.00.

In the brief history of prehistoric Mediterranean scholarship this work surely stands as one of the most detailed museum guides for an ensemble of Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Bronze Age monuments and artifacts. As the title suggests, the book is not so much a study in Maltese prehistory as a history of the discoveries, excavations, assorted ravages, and present

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conditions of Maltese antiquities. Indeed the most singular contribution of the volume is the often lengthy site biographies, each a narrative of the research trajectory of the given ruin. Despite Evans's attention to more recent events the monuments and associated objects constitute the essential core of the book. New site maps and photographs, as well as numerous plans and illustrations of historical interest—many never properly published—and, of course, artifacts are presented in admirable line drawings and black-and-white photographs, which are generally clear but of indeterminate scale. Several features, including a catalog of sites, three indexes, and two-way text and illustration references, provide for easy internal use of the book. Two other sections, a group of technical-analysis appendixes and an essay on Maltese cultural history, are less effectively integrated into the work. The entire effort is prefaced by a brief and occasionally inaccurate discussion of the physical geography of Gozo and Malta.

As a totality *Prehistoric Antiquities* is not a fully satisfactory production. In fact Evans gives no indication of the purpose of his product of some twenty years' labor, and I suggest that the lack of theoretical direction renders the book systematically frustrating for those who would seek, as suggested by the flier, to use the volume "as a work of reference and as a tool" for research. The weaknesses of the book as documentation, analysis, and ultimately as a research resource are manifest if one attempts to utilize the publication in answering questions, for example, about the formal content of Maltese material culture or about the articulation of prehistoric Maltese peoples with their island habitats.

Evans's classification of Maltese material culture is remiss on two counts. He employs too much subjective, incomplete description, and he fails to define fully his artifact and site types, thus producing a largely arbitrary set of categories. With the exception of the fairly consistent inclusion of basic measurements and mention of the general class of raw material, Evans does not pursue a coherent descriptive methodology. Color, hardness, texture, and shape are reported impressionistically; artifact weight, vessel volume, exact raw material, detailed measurements, attributes of utilizations, and other potentially informative data are not documented. Despite Evans's claim that the materials are arranged "into groups of more or less functionally related objects irrespective of raw material," both the methodology and the criteria that define these groups are apparently known only to Evans. In the end the reader is left unwilling to accept the "functional" categories and unable, given the description provided by Evans, to create a valid alternative taxonomy.

My dissatisfaction with the classificatory groundwork of the book extends to other areas as well. Evans is certainly aware of the relevance of environmental data for prehistoric studies; witness the recent analysis of flora and fauna presented in the appendixes. Hence one wonders why so little additional environmental information is presented. The only map in the volume consists of a group of site dots on two featureless islands. Topographic relief, soils, rainfall and temperature distributions, and other aspects of the environment and resources essential to an appreciation of the prehistoric cultural ecology of Malta are ignored on the map and given little or no consideration in the text.

While I am not sympathetic with the traditional narrative format used by Evans in the section "Cultures and Chronology," the chapter is a fine, almost baroque, example of extensive trait listing of a culture "phase" accompanied by a thorough search for trait similarities in the Mediterranean basin. Again I must point out that many of the traits or categories are not fully defined, and I feel the same information could have been more objectively and economically presented by a glossary of type definitions and a table of their stratigraphic-chronological and geographic ranges. Since it is in this section that the reader is most fully informed of the nature and significance of the antiquities, one's comprehension of the materials presented in the site histories would have been enhanced if this chapter had preceded the descriptive body of the work. I also found it perplexing that Evans's interpretations of Maltese prehistory were carried out almost exclusively in terms of ceramic genealogies, migrations, and "influences" from presumably more progressive neighbors in Sicily, southern Italy, and the Aegean. One might question whether the cultures of prehistoric Malta were quite so dependent on periodic transfusions of

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population and artifact from the north. Finally, it should be noted, Evans's "explanations" are inductive speculations, the credibility of which are untested.

Perhaps this volume, because of its bountiful pictorial materials, will find a warmer reception in the hands of certain art historians. Evans has rescued archeologists from the task of discovering that behind the formidable megaliths lies a field uncomfortably barren of knowledge. Clearly our poverty of information and understanding of Maltese prehistory is only remotely Evans's responsibility, for most of the subject matter of the book was recovered in the early, unruly days of imperialistic archeology. Yet because Evans's book and his field work of the past twenty years are so characteristic of a largely uninspired and unproductive older tradition of Mediterranean archeology, one can not but question the contribution of this volume.

DANIEL EVETT
Wayne State University

JOHN BOARDMAN *et al.*, editors. *The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in Honour of C. F. C. Hawkes.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1971. Pp. xv, 294. $20.00.

The book is a mosaic of twelve studies, each author contributing to a different aspect of culture.

The article by N. K. Sanders, entitled "From Bronze Age to Iron Age: A Sequel to a Sequel," evaluates the present status of research in the study of Europe from around 1400 to 700 B.C. Other articles cover many topics in detail, such as "The Construction of Felloe in Iron Age Spoked Wheel" by G. Kossack and "Firedogs in Iron Age Brittany" by Stuart Piggott. There are four chronological studies including the study by A. Mozsolics on Peschiera bronzes in Hungary and the study of ethnic configuration by M. E. Mariën, "Tribes and Archaeological Groupings of the La Tène Period in Belgium: Some Observations."

Several of the studies deal with the Mycenaean problems and their relationships with Central Europe. A. N. Snodgrass presents an examination of the new evidence on sheet-bronze body armor of the early Greek and Central-European Urnfield people. This article is an extension and addition to this author's studies of early Greek armor and weapons written in 1963. Spiridanos Marinatos, in the article entitled "Kaineus (Caeneus): a Further Link between the Mycenaean and the Greek World," reminds us again that the Mycenaeans were a society of truly professional warriors who utilized all the essential weaponry of the times. The author indicates the extensive use of the sword and cites examples of a single warrior carrying two swords. Such a warrior is portrayed on the fourteenth-century Mycenaean seals, the bronze plate from seventh-century Olympia, and the tale of Kaineus fighting with the Centaurs. This practice was also known to the Asiatic nomads and speaks for an extremely intrepid and well-trained warrior.

John Boardman in "Southern View of Situla Art" discusses the situla art of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in the eastern Alpine region. The author relates this art to Greece and stresses both its social and historical value. Indeed, this figurative art is an extremely rich source of information on many aspects of life. For example, scenes on the situla include information on furniture (chairs, couches with turned wooden legs), musical instruments (Syrinx with graduated pipes and asymmetrical lyres), boxing, and love making. Jan Bouzek's "Open Work Bird-cage Bronzes" is a convenient classification and presentation of European "bird cages." Many illustrations are included depicting their use as a decorative motif on the horse strappings and pole-tops used by pastoral tribes. This motif has its origin in the Caucasus about 1100 B.C. and is used as late as the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., having been disseminated by the Proto-Scythian tribes over a large area between central Asia and Hungary. This study now invites the mythologist to study the symbolism of this peculiar combination of the sunwheel and bird.

Several contributions are of considerable importance for Celtic studies. J. Maluquer de Motes, in the study entitled "Late Bronze and Early Iron in the Ebro Valley," presents a summary of recent research on the infiltration of the Central-European Urnfield peoples. This culture spread to the Ebro Valley in Spain via routes around the Pyrenees. The first movement of these Central-European Urnfield peoples did not cross the Ebro River until influxes of various groups—some coming from southern

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France, some from the north Alpine Urnfield region—began around 1000 B.C. Having met along the Ebro River they then dispersed into the Meseta and the Atlantic regions to the west. With this continuous amalgamation of peoples the Late Bronze Age in Spain began, marked by a complex process of acculturation and cultural interchanges. Iron was introduced to southern Spain by the Phoenicians during the eighth century. Commerce with the Greeks diffused the metal and also created a general rise of living standards.

E. M. Jope in the article on "The Waldalgeshelm Master" commemorates the unusual discovery of a rich chariot burial of Celtic nobility in the middle Rhine region during the fourth century B.C. The gold and bronze work is notable for its flowing surface ornament, which is a component of the classic Celtic style.

T. G. E. Powell, in the study "From Uraetu to Gundestrum: The Agency of Thracian Metal Work," reviews aspects of a similar art style and describes fine metal workings over a period of about six centuries from Transcaucasia and the Pontic area to the Gundestrum cauldron of about 100 B.C. He convincingly argues that the orientalized Thracian metalworking was the agent responsible for the diffusion of mythical images that appear on the Gundestrum cauldron and other related bronzes in northwestern Europe. This famous cauldron may have been produced in Carpatho-Danubian Europe and was not necessarily created by Celtic craftsmen.

This splendidly edited volume is an important contribution for scholars of the Late Bronze Age and of Early Iron Age Europe. Contributions are also made for Indo-European mythologists and technologists. The book appropriately ends with a complete bibliography of Professor Hawkes's published works. The book is certainly a well-deserved and significant honor to Professor Hawkes.

MARIJA GIMBUTAS
University of California, Los Angeles

PAUL ASHBEE. *The Earthen Long Barrow in Britain: An Introduction to the Study of the Funerary Practice and Culture of the Neolithic People of the Third Millennium B.C.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 208. $18.00.

As a companion to his book *The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain* (1960) Paul Ashbee has now presented us with a survey of the earlier, Neolithic, "earthen long barrows" of Britain. The main argument of the book, after an introduction dealing with the more general subjects of terminology and the history of research, is a comparative discussion of details of plan, structure, and contents of these tombs, backed up with fourteen appendixes concerning bibliography, site lists, and diagramatically presented vital statistics of structural details and associated finds. Chapter 6 deals with a reconstruction of construction techniques and burial procedure and chapter 7 with dating, origins, and Continental affinities.

Long barrows have been the subject of archeological inquiry since the time of John Aubrey and William Stukeley in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, detailed evidence about the nature of these monuments was only forthcoming from the scientific excavation of twenty-five sites, which were pioneered by General Pitt-Rivers at Wor Barrow in 1894 but mainly carried out since the last war.

As an accomplished field excavator with experience of digging both round and long barrows, Ashbee is one of the few people best equipped to interpret for us the often baffling features encountered beneath these monuments.

The construction of a long barrow mound was preceded by a series of events that usually involved, among other things, the erection of a wooden mortuary shed to house the bodies and the laying out of an open mortuary enclosure. Details of plan and burial rite vary from site to site, although they conform to a general pattern.

The unified character of this group, limited as it is mainly to the chalk formations of the lowland zone of Britain, is conventionally interpreted in terms of an absence of suitable stone to construct the closely related megalithic tombs found in the highland zone of Britain. However, as Ashbee shows us, there are also striking Continental parallels for the timber mortuary tents, chambers, and wooden façades in Poland, Germany, and Denmark, suggesting a strong cultural link with those areas. One feels perhaps that he has been carried away with this evidence, since a more balanced pic-

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ture would be given if the links with megalithic tombs of the Severn Cotswold and Clyde Carlingford traditions had been treated with the same detail as those with the Continental earthen barrows.

Ashbee has given us an extremely useful discussion and documentation on the problems of these barrows, which will be a standard work on the subject until such time as it is outdated by successive new excavations.

L. H. BARFIELD
University of Birmingham

BARRY CUNLIFFE. *Roman Bath Discovered.* Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1971. Pp. xv, 108. $17.50.

Readers of Cunliffe's other semipopular volume on an important Romano-British archeological site, *Fishbourne,* will know what to expect from this excellent treatment of Roman Bath, ancient Aquae Sulis. Beautifully illustrated and intelligently written, his book is a popularized version of a more technical report on Bath, published by the Society of Antiquaries, but if the audience has been widened, the high quality of his work remains. It should appeal to admirers of Smollett, Sheridan, Jane Austen, and Hardy, to social historians taken by Beau Nash and English spa society, to students of medieval architecture and eighteenth-century town planning, and not least to a public interested in archeology and the preservation of antiquities.

The author has adopted two distinct but intertwined approaches to his presentation of Roman Bath. The first involves the historical record of archeological discovery at Bath, beginning with John Leland in the sixteenth century and accelerating with the redevelopment of the spa after 1700. This process of discovery, excavation, and new building, stimulated by the rebirth of Bath as a major watering place, has particular value because of the persistent function of the Roman and Georgian town as a curative resort and because of the evident change from antiquarianism to professional archeology, preserved in documents, memoirs, and diverse accounts. Since Bath is a going place with important buildings of the Roman, medieval, and Georgian periods, varying degrees of conflict and cooperation among developers, spa management, and archeologists illuminate the fluctuating values affecting the destruction, restoration, and preservation of its monuments. In this context Cunliffe's careful discussion of the history of Roman Bath in modern times is very instructive on the recurrent issue of the preservation of an archeological site as an integral part of an inhabited center.

The other line of analysis examines specifically the principal archeological problems of the site: the Temple of Sulis Minerva, the Baths, and the Roman town. Spectacular remains of the temple, one of the most important in Roman Britain, indicate the wealth and success of the cult, associated closely with the healing waters. They also suggest the depth of Romanization, since the tetrastyle Corinthian temple closely follows Vitruvian models and the well-preserved architectural sculpture is clearly inspired by classical style and iconography, although local features are preserved in the temple pediment and in the reliefs of ancillary structures, found in the temple precinct. The ancient Baths constructed around the hot mineral springs belong to the great tradition of Roman Imperial thermal architecture of the second and third centuries and reveal the ambition and resources of the local establishment. Less clear, and poorly preserved, are the remains of the Roman town, although the defensive walls can be traced and some houses, cult places, and public buildings have been found. Aquae Sulis depended on the spa for its existence and revenue, although it probably also offered market and administrative services to the region, if the extensive collection of monumental and sepulchral inscriptions is at all representative.

Despite the excellence of this book and its suitability for a general, sophisticated audience, the complete absence of footnotes is a drawback, while the annotated bibliography, which omits R. A. L. Smith's fine guide to *Bath* (1944), is inadequate. The author is very chary with dates, admittedly because the problems of dating are difficult, but this weakness is consistent with the insularity of a discussion that seems more provincial than necessary. One would like to see Cunliffe tackle a Roman site outside of Britain next.

RICHARD BRILLIANT
Columbia University

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KURT VON FRITZ. *Grundprobleme der Geschichte der antiken Wissenschaft.* Berlin: Walter de-Gruyter. 1971. Pp. xxxvi, 759. DM 98.

More than half of this book consists of reprints of earlier publications by the author, serving as the basis for the discussion in the first part, which, in turn, is the expansion of a paper published ten years ago on the beginnings of *universalwissenschaftliche Bestrebungen* among the Greeks. This earlier title, whatever meaning one may connect with it, reflects the contents better than the present one, which might make one expect a discussion of problems that the historian of ancient sciences has to face and how to approach them. No such practical questions beclouded the high level of philosophical and ethical discussion or influenced the selection of authors and works that deserve to be representatives of fundamentally Greek science.

Who these "Greeks" are is best seen from the index of quoted passages. Of some 800 references about 440 concern the Pre-Socratics, Plato, and Aristotle; of course, there is no reference to a papyrus or to a Byzantine treatise, sources that, nevertheless, can contribute a great deal to our understanding of the role and the character of the sciences in classical antiquity. Oriental sciences, in particular Babylonian, receive an honorable mention, but nowhere will the reader get a feeling for the importance of two millennia of high civilizations for the cultural trends in the Mediterranean basin during, say, the last five centuries B.C.—in my opinion a topic that deserves a place among the *Grundprobleme* of historiography. In fact, the present work is a monograph on the impact of early Greek philosophy on some sciences (in particular, mathematical axiomatics in Euclid and Archimedes), written in the spirit of classical education of the late nineteenth century.

This does not imply any disregard for modern achievements. On the contrary, the author displays everywhere an astonishing width of reading; references to Hilbert's axiomatics and Cantor's or Zermelo's set theory, quantum physics, or Renaissance mechanics abound throughout. That this will make difficult going for the average reader should not be taken as an argument. But even if one is fairly familiar with such topics, one may doubt the wisdom of, for example, long discussions of the concept "reality" in modern physics in the chapter on the origin of Greek science. These innumerable digressions into—in my opinion—often totally foreign aspects of a problem make the trend of the discussion unpredictable. Not to say that I am not convinced of the historical competence of modern physicists—Weizsäcker, for example, whose dictum (pp. xiii, 129) that the concept of strict and general laws of nature could hardly have originated without the Christian (read Judaic?) concept of creation. Perhaps the Gilgamesh Epic is responsible for Babylonian mathematics.

The jumping from Aristotle to Einstein or to doctrines of the rulers in the Kremlin, as well as the subordination of all discussion to *Grundprobleme,* produce a basically unhistoric book. I would have considered it a legitimate way of discussing basic attitudes in ancient sciences to compare, for example, the situation in the times of Archimedes, Apollonius, and Eratosthenes with the attitudes of Pappus, Theon, and Synesius, but there is no attempt at a historical synthesis of this sort in the huge tome under review. In saying this I have not overlooked the concluding chapter with the title "Probleme der historischen Synthese." Having read it twice I still cannot give a concise summary of its contents (I only mention references to Hegel, Herodotus, Hitler, Polybius, Spengler, Thucydides, Toynbee). The last sentence, however, states that the author's basic intention was to demonstrate that the historian also must proceed along several roads in different fields of study. We all agree.

The preface discusses in thirty-three pages the evils of our times, among which the decline of classical studies is only one aspect. Here the urgent need of associating the present with the ideals of classical antiquity is stressed. This then leads to a discussion of the process of industrialization during the nineteenth century and to eight pages of excerpts from platitudes pronounced by Marcuse, to be contrasted with K. Lorenz's excellent studies of animal behavior, comparable to Aristotle's approach. Return to the ancient unity of natural sciences and humanities appears as the ultimate goal of classical studies.

At the end of the preface a list of prospective antagonists is given. I do not think that I belong to any one of these groups. Nevertheless I do not believe that the classics can be rescued

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in the way that the author hopes. Being a simple specialist with some professional competence in the study of a small section of ancient civilization, I can nevertheless refer to my experience that the insight into the enormous variety of aspects of the human past—be it Sumerian or Byzantine civilization, be it astronomy or Donatist doctrine—holds a deep fascination for educated men, if presented to them in pure and simple form without profound principles or moral implications. Perhaps the humanities will survive simply by their intrinsic interest.

O. NEUGEBAUER
Brown University

ENZO NARDI. *Procurato aborto nel mondo greco romano.* Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1971. Pp. xxiv, 778. L. 10,000.

How a woman gained an abortion in Greek and Roman times should form a fascinating theme for an interesting book. Nardi's volume is, unfortunately, a disappointment, although it offers a plethora of data and documents to prove that abortion was common and possible in classical antiquity. The author hedges on the most important issue underlying the practice of abortion among the Greeks and Romans: the moral implications within the society at large. It is never made clear just how Greek or Roman legislation regarded the ethics of abortion, whether it was commonly taken for granted, or if the woman in question carried some kind of social opprobrium.

A basic problem within the general context of the book is Nardi's analysis of source material. Solonic traditions—outside the actual fragments of Solon's poetry—as well as those surrounding Spartan "Lycurgus" are treated as reliable, and the vague matrix of Romulan "abortion pharmacists" is accepted as if modern historians can use such "facts" without reasonable doubt. Nardi thinks that the woman who obtained an abortion did so in concert with a number of less-than-ordinary "practitioners" who were well distributed in the classical world. This implies contact with soothsayers and magicians, an aspect Nardi would have been sagacious to pursue, given the apparent links between magic and sex. Roman medicine indeed did have its magical and folk-remedy components, but Nardi refuses to make a clean connection between the magic in the drug lore of Dioscorides (if that is the intent of the included quotations) and the abortion methods and means noted in Pliny. Confusion over the Greek concept of *atokion*, as Pliny may have interpreted it in his reading of works on contraception, could have been cleared up easily with the consultation of Keith Hopkin's essays on Roman contraception (e.g., "Contraception in the Roman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8 [1965]: 124–51).

Nardi is undecided about Pliny, "fra superstizione e scienza" (pp. 263–80), thinking that Roman booklearning led to "scientific" medicine and pharmacy and, conversely, that Pliny could not distinguish between a good source and a bad one. Nardi leaves us totally confused concerning (1) the nature of contraception and abortion, (2) the techniques employed, even though we are given lengthy quotations from Andromachus (Galen, ed. C. G. Kühn, XIV, 106–17) that prove antidotes (to what in this context?) were available, and (3) how the learned esoterica in Galen and his sources were applied to women who desired drug-induced abortions. The theory of contraception and abortion was part of the package of Hellenistic medicine, but legal and nonmedical sources from the Roman Empire indicate the Romans did not distinguish between abortion and contraception. There is a complete lack of acquaintance with modern work (since 1920) on Hellenistic and Roman medicine in English or German, although many references appear from materials on religion and ethics in German. Noonan's work is essential here. Nardi, by contrast, is content to cite editions and authorities from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (on medicine) without question. The book provides a convenient collection of relevant source material, but the interested scholar should check all editions and citations.

JOHN SCARBOROUGH
University of Kentucky

W. V. HARRIS. *Rome in Etruria and Umbria.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 370. $21.00.

Clio has shifted her gaze from the Roman legion. Like E. T. Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites* (1967), Harris's book is a worthy study of one of Rome's enemies. But while

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Samnites remained implacable foes, Etruscans and Umbrians exercised considerable independence as loyal allies and at times received preferential treatment. The book is essentially about Rome and Etruria, with occasional references to Umbria. It is a difficult book, and dissertation *Gelehrsamkeit* often slows progress to main points. But the scholarly discussions are interesting and informative in themselves, and the whole of the book is well written. There are extremely useful appendixes, but a foldout map would have been helpful.

Harris points to the interest in Etruscology in the late Republic and early Empire, maintaining that a reliable and authentic tradition existed about the Etruscans, and he believes we can reach certain conclusions about their social, economic, and political behavior. Caution is in order here. Even if such information existed, there is little proof that the bits and pieces we have are authentic and reliable. Nevertheless, Harris uses archeological, epigraphical, and linguisitic evidence extensively to supplement and correct the literary tradition.

Generally, Harris argues that relations with Etruscans and Umbrians were regulated by unequal *foedera*, granted by Rome usually after hostilities, that imposed obligations on the defeated, though not always the confiscation of land. Although roads, colonies, and the gradual extension of the franchise normally helped to Romanize territories, Rome permitted Etruria a large measure of independence, content to support the local *principes* and to receive their loyalty in return. Their loyalty allowed Rome to dispense with the usual colonial enterprises in Etruria, hence delaying Romanization. Rome did not interfere unduly in local affairs, enforcing obedience to Roman law or imposing her language and magistrates on Etruria. The Senate was unwilling to assume greater administrative responsibility and, according to Harris, did not wish to antagonize her allies. Roman *foedera* were an "instrument of an intelligent Roman policy." But was Etruscan independence the result of a conscious policy or the consequence of simple neglect (compare M. W. Frederiksen, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 58 [1968]: 224–29)? According to Harris the Gracchan agrarian policy made Etruscan *possessores* of *ager publicus* anxious, and in 91 B.C. they preferred their land to citizenship, but eventually accepted the latter after weakly supporting the rebel cause in the Social War. Only favored *domi nobiles* were fully enfranchised by the censors of 86–85 B.C., but the majority of Etruscans obtained preferential treatment in their allocations to rural tribes by a *senatus consultum* of 84 B.C. However, fearing Sulla would not honor their new position, many joined the anti-Sullan forces. Although Sulla did settle many veterans on Etruscan and Umbrian territory and some colonists joined Lepidus and Catiline, support for these men came mostly from the dispossessed Etruscans. Octavian also encountered opposition in the region, but uniform political behavior can not generally be attributed to Etruscans. Octavian's colonies doomed an independent Etruria that, although finally succumbing completely to Roman influences, remained economically prosperous (contra Frank) well into the Empire.

Not all scholars will agree with Harris's assessment of political alignments in any given period, especially with his view of Marius's limited (serf) support in Etruria. In fact the discussion of the entire period from 91 to 70 B.C. may not find broad acceptance, but Harris's theses are clearly presented, well argued, and basically consistent. They should be read by every student interested in Roman history.

RICHARD E. MITCHELL
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

LINO ROSSI. *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*. English translation revised by J. M. C. TOYNBEE. (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1971. Pp. 240. $10.00.

This is a tantalizing book. Its author sets out to identify the various types of Roman soldiers and, when possible, the names of the particular units depicted in the spiral reliefs of Trajan's column. These sculptured scenes portray in vivid detail the course of Trajan's conquest, partially in A.D. 101–02 and completely in 105–06, of the territory of Dacia (now a large portion of Romania).

Inscriptions form the major body of evidence for the identity of the military units and personnel that participated in Trajan's Dacian

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campaigns. In chapter 2 the variety and value of the inscriptional evidence are illustrated by examples quoted in Latin and translated into English. Chapter 3 is devoted to a succinct review of the Roman Imperial Army in Trajan's time—its composition, strength, and organization and its weapons, uniforms, decorations, and standards.

The fourth chapter contains a list of the names of thirteen legions, sixty auxiliary units, and several irregular formations, which are either known or presumed to have taken part in the conquest of Dacia, in either or in both of the two campaigns. The list, however, is not complete. The names of at least twelve additional auxiliary units should be included. Their omission jeopardizes the attempt to identify the names of particular units depicted on the column. Actually the names of only three legions and of four auxiliary units are proposed. When identifying types of soldiers, such as legionaries, *sagittarii, equites, classiarii,* and *funditores,* Dr. Rossi is more convincing. The method of identifying units such as *cohortes torquatae* and *cohortes civium Romanorum* on the basis of shield insignia is a novel approach.

The final chapter, profusely illustrated, consists of a commentary on the reliefs themselves. The geography and topography of the possible routes of invasion receive attention, and use is made of recent archeological information from Romanian excavations. The placement of scenes on the column at Piatra Roșie, Blidaru, and Costești (mountains west and northwest of the Dacian capital at Sarmizegetusa), where Dacian fortresses have been unearthed, is possible but never certain. Other possibilities, not mentioned by the author, include the mountains of Jigorul Mare, Comărnicel, and Vîrful lui Pătru, located south and southeast of Sarmizegetusa, where remains of Roman earthen camps have been discovered. The placement of battle scenes depicted in plate 64 (p. 170) at either Costești or Hulpe differs from the suggestion made by Romanian archeologists who prefer Cioclovina, where an earthen rampart that had been reinforced by a palisade fence was found.

Consistently throughout, the author refers to both the gorge of the Danube River near Orșova and the mountain pass into Transylvania from the Banat by the same name—Iron Gates. Romanians, however, refer in the singular (Poarta de Fier) to the gorge.

Dr. Rossi has provided the specialist as well as the general reader with an informative treatment of his subject. Much contained herein is speculative, with little documentation of evidence, but this work is absorbing nonetheless.

DONALD W. WADE
Kent State University

MEDIEVAL

RUTH MELLINKOFF. *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought.* (California Studies in the History of Art, Number 14.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 210. 130 plates. $16.50.

Traditional explanations of the protrusions that emerge from the brow of Moses in numerous medieval and Renaissance representations blame an alleged mistranslation in the Vulgate of the passage in Exodus 34:29 in which the patriarch's radiant face is described. The present study invalidates the assumption that Jerome's choice of the Latin *cornuta* in place of the Hebrew *qeren* (rays of light) was a mistake. Ruth Mellinkoff emphasizes that throughout the Old Testament the word horn was used metaphorically to signify power and kingship; she suggests that Jerome knowingly and rightfully employed *cornuta* in an attempt to convey the sense of Moses' profound experience on Sinai.

The first part of Mrs. Mellinkoff's study is devoted to a search for the reasons that led, some six hundred years later, to the literalization of the horns in art. The earliest known representation appears among the highly original illustrations that were prepared toward the middle of the eleventh century for a copy of Aelfric's *Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua,* a simplified account of the Old Testament written in Old English around 1000 (British Museum Cotton Claudius B IV). Mrs. Mellinkoff, reminding the reader that concrete description in vernacular texts made Biblical writing more available to the layman, notes that Aelfric employed the vivid *gehyrned* in place of the metaphoric *cornuta* in his *Paraphrase.* His use of *heretoga* in reference to Moses—a term commonly employed to designate a secular chieftain rather than a royal

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leader—may, the author theorizes, have stimulated the artist to depict the patriarch wearing a horned helmet reminiscent of those worn by pagan warriors. This fascinating interpretation is consistent with contemporary English developments studied brilliantly by Meyer Schapiro ("The Image of the Disappearing Christ," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 23 [1943]: 135–52) upon whose work Mrs. Mellinkoff relies for proof of her own thesis. C. R. Dodwell's recent study of the Aelfric manuscript likewise emphasizes such a literal and secular approach to iconographic illustration throughout the text ("L'Originalité iconographique de plusieurs illustrations anglo-saxonne de l'Ancien Testament," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 14 [1971]: 319–28).

The second part of her book opens with a survey of the spread of the motif beginning with its reappearance in England and Austria some seventy-five years after the illustration in Aelfric. The horns that appear from the twelfth century on are honest extrusions of the cranium, and the patriarch whom they distinguish frequently is depicted in typological rather than narrative scenes. But the author, having accepted the invention of the horns in Aelfric, no longer examines the particular contexts in which they occur. In the process she misses what may be the key to the understanding of her own material.

Mrs. Mellinkoff remarks that Paul can be thought of as the first commentator on Exodus 34, and she cites in various places in her text his metaphoric interpretation of Moses and the Old Testament (2 Corinthians 3). However, she never considers in depth the possible role of Pauline doctrine as a determinating factor in the development of the patriarch's iconography. In fact we know that at the very moment at which the horned patriarch became popular in European art—the second quarter of the twelfth century—Paul's explanation of Mosaic law was used by Abbot Suger as the program for a stained glass window in his innovative and influential ambulatory at Saint-Denis (Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux allegoriques de Saint-Denis," *Art de France*, 1 [1961]: 19–46).

Although *The Horned Moses* makes several interesting observations on a variety of topics and contains detailed illustrations of high quality, it remains an anthology of selected literature on Moses on the one hand and a random discussion of horns on the other. Until these two aspects are integrated into a meaningful relationship, the significance of the masses that push through the tousled hair of no less a figure than Michelangelo's Moses will remain enigmatic.

LINDA SEIDEL
Harvard University

WILLIAM A. CHANEY. *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 276. $7.50.

Anglo-Saxon kingship, Professor Chaney maintains, was deeply rooted in its pagan past. "The priestly nature of Christian kingship," he writes, "was, for the Anglo-Saxons, largely a translation into terms of the new religion of the sacral kingship of German heathenism." Chaney demonstrates his thesis by exploring the pagan origins of the Christian monarch: his intercessory role between God and folk, his aspect as *Christus Domini*, his obligation to protect the Church, his function as bringer of victory, prosperity, and peace, his dooms and *wergelds*, his crown and dragon banner—even his taxes.

The difficulties of such an investigation are formidable. Lacking written records from pagan England, Chaney has turned to archeology, literature, folklore, numismatics, place-name studies, and comparative religion. Further, he has used materials relating to paganism in Scandinavia and among the early Germanic invaders. Such an approach requires both ingenuity and caution for, as the author well recognizes, what is true of tenth-century Scandinavia may not be true of sixth-century England. These materials can be neither ignored nor used indiscriminately, and, by and large, Chaney uses them well.

Occasionally the impact of his argument is weakened by the addition of bad evidence to good, as when he cites William of Malmesbury (d. ca. 1143) on King Alfred (d. 899) or when he relates a story of Matthew Paris (d. ca. 1259) about a plague-ridden crowd leaping off a cliff in A.D. 665. Even if the story were true Matthew's explanation that the cliff-leapers preferred swift death to lingering torment seems prefera-

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ble to Chaney's suggestion of a sacrificial offering. His equation of Christian crown-wearings with pagan agricultural festivals is highly suggestive, but his association of Candlemas with a pagan feast of lights is inadequately supported. Simply because an ealdorman fighting under the royal Wessex dragon stabbed the bearer of an undescribed Mercian banner, one need not speculate, as Chaney does, that Mercia may have flown the dragon standard too. And the author's case for pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon kings offering human sacrifices to Woden is far from conclusive.

But these lapses do not seriously compromise the value of Chaney's thesis. He explicates such diverse matters as the Easter-date controversy at Whitby, the marriage of Canute to Ethelred's widow, and the medieval right of resistance. Here and elsewhere he has enriched our understanding of the pre-Christian religious foundations underlying Anglo-Saxon culture.

C. WARREN HOLLISTER
University of California, Santa Barbara

B. P. WOLFFE. *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 1971. Pp. 324. $13.50.

This book is full of good things. Its core is a compact monograph on the royal demesne from the accession of Henry IV through the death of Henry VII. The author's touch is sure for he has already staked a considerable claim to expertise through two solid articles in the *English Historical Review* and an edition of many of the relevant documents (*The Crown Lands* [1970]). Wolffe's two main interests are in the various acts of resumption (calling for the return to royal hands of alienated lands) passed by the parliaments of the mid- and late fifteenth century—some passed despite the king, some because of him—and in the way the machinery of government was improved by Edward IV and Henry VII to streamline the royal finances, especially those accruing from the king's own lands. These are complicated tales but their outline emerges clearly. The inability of poor Henry VI to hold on to his demesne lands or to realize their proper value when they were granted away was thoroughly corrected, not just by Edward IV's energy but by his application of the methods of baronial estate administration to the financial apparatus of the king's Chamber.

But if the story of the royal demesne in the fifteenth century is the main theme, it is not the book's only contribution. A long first chapter gives a brief history of the demesne and of the concept that the king should "live of his own." This catchy phrase meant that the king should live not wholly from his landed revenues (as Stuart propagandists would have us believe), but rather within the proper limits of royal purveyance. Taxes and customs, not the demesne, subsidized Angevin and Edwardian government. The royal demesne only became a prime factor in government economics when Henry IV united his colossal patrimony with the Crown's ancient possessions.

Wolffe also gives us a brief idea of what the Yorkist and Tudor "revolution in government" was all about, of how the late medieval Exchequer worked (and did not work), and of why Henry VI deserves much of the blame for the failure of his government. Wolffe casts some intriguing doubt on Tout's tale of the development of government as the result of struggles between rival administrative departments, and he shows what is wrong with Dietz's calculations of early Tudor finances. He offers us many courses besides the advertised entrée on the Crown estate.

My main criticism is that the book's appendixes, wherein we have the component units of the demesne and the items included in the acts of resumption of the mid-fifteenth century, are hard to use. They are not compiled so as to facilitate either the counting of manors or the aggregation of their value. It is difficult to unravel which lands were dealt with in the different acts (appendix C). Thus one comes away with a good idea of how government worked, but not so much about what it was working on. Lands, manors, and acres would give a nice balance to receivers and parliamentary bills. But this is not to detract from an important and excellent study, learned and sober, and well grounded in the records of medieval government.

JOEL ROSENTHAL
State University of New York, Stony Brook

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L. J. DOWNER, edited with translation and commentary by. *Leges Henrici Primi.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. vi, 460. $30.75.

The *Leges Henrici Primi* is an early twelfth-century treatise on contemporary law; it provides a picture of the legal process before its rapid expansion later that same century. Despite the many flaws, it stands as an essential document of the commingling of Anglo-Saxon and Continental customs. Professor Downer does great service in providing a new edition of this treatise, along with commentary, translation, and introduction.

Professor Downer confines his introduction to analyzing a series of problems that he argues are central to understanding the structure of the *Leges:* among these are the date of composition, the background of the author, the relationship with the Quadrapartitus (a contemporary collection of Anglo-Saxon law translated into Latin), the sources, and the manuscript tradition. Downer demonstrates thoughtful and careful (if not conservative) analysis of difficult evidence. The result is a less complete, less certain picture of either the *Leges* or its author than was offered seventy years ago by the pioneer editor, Felix Liebermann, but it is one that reflects the evidence, without reaching for attentuated conclusions. Still, it is a tribute to Liebermann that Downer's exemplary scholarship does little more than modify many of Liebermann's suggestions and, above all, his edition of the text. Downer's decision to limit the broad questions, such as the relationship of the *Leges Henrici* to legal development of the first Norman century, saves the text from becoming a subordinate part of a much larger enterprise; instead, we have in the comments a thoroughly reliable tool that will be of enduring benefit for English historians.

The greatest contribution of Downer's edition lies in the commentary and translation. Often translations have received little attention because of their lack of originality or value for the specialist. It is a shame that this view, which has validity in some cases, should be applied to all. A translation may bring out subtle meanings or an understanding that a fast reading of the original may slide over. This is particularly true for legal treatises, which generally were written for only a small circle of students and colleagues, and also for poorly executed documents where meanings are often obscured through clumsiness. The *Leges* qualifies in both categories. While it occupies a unique place in the social, administrative, and legal history of England in the twelfth century, its author was unequal to his task: at many points the work is a confused hodgepodge of Anglo-Saxon legal terms incorrectly rendered into Latin. Hence, Downer's learned translation serves as a guide to the obscured meanings of a well-intentioned author; moreover, his commentary enhances the rendition and provides critical analysis of its construction. Future work in twelfth-century legal history, however, may challenge portions of Downer's interpretation of the *Leges.* Some specialists may believe that Downer possibly gives the author too little credit for understanding the Anglo-Saxon laws he used. But such questions of judgment will not impair the overall contribution of this new edition.

JON N. SUTHERLAND
California State University, San Diego

EDWARD J. KEALEY. *Roger of Salisbury: Viceroy of England.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. xvi, 312. $13.50.

Roger of Salisbury was both a bishop and a head of the royal administration in England for close to forty years, and though a priest he was married and raised his relatives to positions of considerable importance. He must have been a man of character, but like so many administrators his personality has been swallowed up by the institutions that he founded or perfected. They were his life, and anyone who wants to understand him must first understand them. This makes him a difficult subject for a biography, but Edward J. Kealey has approached the challenge bravely. There are points at which one suspects he is not quite at home with the background, but he has collected all the available evidence about Roger's life, printed the full texts of his thirty-one known charters and writs, constructed an itinerary, and written a useful appendix on his family. The main text is basically a narrative of Roger's life that takes in its stride the politi-

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cal history of the years 1100–39 with brief excursus on royal and ecclesiastical administration. The difficulty of this plan is that it makes the book hang on the life story of a "faceless" man. Mr. Kealey has evidently been aware of this and has done his best to produce a story and a character. But questions remain. It is still very difficult to know how far Roger's grants to religious houses, such as St. Frideswide's, Oxford, were genuine benefactions or merely the restoration of rights or lands that he or his officials had "acquired" in the course of their administrative duties. Were his sympathies mainly with the king or with the class of "new men" to which he belonged? It might be expected that he had some feeling of solidarity with men like Hugh de Buckland, Miles of Gloucester, Aubrey de Vere, or Richard Basset; but Roger's family sought (and got) preferment in the Church rather than the marriage market—though it is odd that he seems to have had no daughters or nieces. In his pluralism —while bishop of Salisbury he was also dean of St. Martin le Grand in London and held the abbeys of Abbotsbury and Malmesbury in his hand—he is reminiscent of Henry of Blois, but in most respects the two men were in contrast. Or were they? Mr. Kealey points out that Roger had a genuine attachment to learning. The schools of Laon seem to have had a special attraction both for him and for his successors in the royal chancery. It was to Laon that he sent his nephews to study and from Laon that he drew the master of his own schools at Salisbury; and if he was a genuine benefactor of St. Frideswide's he may have had something to do with the prehistory of Oxford University.

R. H. C. DAVIS
University of Birmingham

FRANÇOISE PIPONNIER. *Costume et vie sociale: La cour d'Anjou XIV^e–XV^e siècle.* (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 21.) Paris: Mouton & Co. 1970. Pp. 429. 32 plates. 60 fr.

What do clothes tell us about attitudes and social distance in a strongly hierarchical society that placed great meaning on external symbols? In seeking the answers to these questions Françoise Piponnier has examined the extant household and treasury accounts of the Valois dukes of Anjou from the origins of the duchy in 1360 to the extinction of the line in 1481, and she has produced one of the most unusual volumes to emerge from the sixth section, a study of the procurement, distribution, and use of clothes and accessories that constitutes a valuable and necessary companion piece to the iconography of costume.

Despite a large gap in the sources between 1380 and 1445, she has been able to illumine the role and significance of dress at the courts of Louis I and his grandson, René, and the types and qualities of fabrics, style, color, and the level of consumption. Both men, who lived a century apart, spent an average of ten per cent of annual household expenditures on clothing, the great bulk of purchases occurring in the summer and again at the end of the year.

After a careful study of fabrics, their provenance and relative popularity, and the system of procurement, Piponnier devotes the last part of the book to the connections between costume, social structure, and *mentalités*. The princes at the beginning of this period had an almost barbaric taste for dress heavily decorated with gold, pearls, and precious stones; by 1480 much of the money formerly devoted to such jewelry was used to purchase cloth and furs of better quality, while silk came to be more widely used. The dress expenditure of the duchess rose from a modest level across the century until it exceeded the clothing expenditure of the duke, presumably signifying the improvement of the woman's position at court. Most of all, the princely group after 1450 was more visibly concerned, through the quality, color, and style of its garments, with asserting and maintaining its social distance from the other noble ranks than its grandfathers had been.

This incomplete survey of Piponnier's major conclusions leaves unmentioned the host of lesser conclusions that appear throughout the book. These are sometimes overshadowed by the mass of empirical detail that threatens to weaken her study by obscuring the real significance of her work, which appears on every page. Printing costs prevented the reproduction in color of any of the thirty-two well-chosen plates. Tables, maps, and graphs depict the

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rhythm, geography, and volume of cloth purchases, and the hundred pages of appendixes are completed by selected documents, genealogical charts, and a glossary.

FRANKLIN J. PEGUES
Ohio State University

HANS ANDERSSON. *Urbanisierte Ortschaften und lateinische Terminologie: Studien zur Geschichte des nordeuropäischen Städtewesens vor 1350.* (Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis. Humaniora, 6.) Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället; distrib. by Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm. 1971. Pp. 281.

Inspired by his teacher Erik Lönnroth, who is well known for his work on Swedish medieval economic history, Hans Andersson has attempted to use the computer to determine why certain terms describing towns were chosen in preference over others by the authors of medieval Latin charters. His broader goal is to arrive at a rigorous definition of a town. The geographic scope encompasses Denmark and Sweden. To this is added a shorter chapter on Westphalia that serves as a basis for comparison with the two less-developed areas. The analysis is carried up to about 1350 when vernacular terminology replaced Latin. Within these limits Hans Andersson systematically examines all the available charter material and with the help of the computer produces the whole spectrum of medieval Latin town terminology, such as *civitas, oppidum, portus, urbs, villa,* and so on. Following the works of the German scholars Carl Haase and Heinz Stoob on the origins of German towns, Andersson then contrasts the terminology from the charters with our factual knowledge of urbanization in each place. Like Stoob, Andersson uses legal, administrative, functional, and topographical criteria, to which he adds certain peculiarly Scandinavian criteria such as the midsummer night's tax, which J. Steenstrup already saw as the typical town tax. The author is critical of Stoob's use of the word town and suggests the vaguer "urbanized place," which in spite of its clumsiness works well in the more primitive Scandinavian setting. A comparison between the terminology and the actuality behind it, which is the very crux of Andersson's study, does not yield much. The most important conclusion he can draw is that the Danish royal chancellery is quite consistent in designating as *civitas* only the urbanized episcopal town, while the term *villa* is used for other urbanized places. Computer techniques in medieval history are clearly still in their infancy, but Andersson has taken some important first steps.

JENNY M. JOCHENS
Towson State College

HANS-ULRICH GEIGER. *Der Beginn der Gold- und Dickmünzenprägung in Bern: Ein Beitrag zur bernischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts.* (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, Number 52.) [Bern: the Verein.] 1968. Pp. 265.

The monetary policies of the smaller European states, and particularly those that were members of the Swiss Confederation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are extremely complicated. Very often coins from differing monetary systems circulated side by side, and the confusion that resulted cannot be easily unraveled. Hans-Ulrich Geiger nevertheless has set himself the task of explaining the monetary policy of Bern in the aftermath of the Burgundian War. Unfortunately he has not been completely successful in solving the problem.

The monetary changes in Switzerland in the late fifteenth century were caused by the Burgundian War. Monetary circulation was badly affected by the war and the consequent rise in prices. In 1477 an attempt was made at monetary union within the Swiss Confederation, but Bern refused to join and went its own way. Instead it built its monetary system on the relations that it had established earlier with Freiburg and Solothurn. In 1479 Bern received papal authorization to coin gold, which it began to issue in 1484, and in 1482 it began to strike a new coin worth one-third of a gulden. Bern tried to protect its subjects from poor currency coming from abroad while issuing good currency of its own. In 1484 Bern was turning westward and attempting to reach a monetary agreement with Savoy. This brought Bern into conflict with the rest of the Swiss Confederation. In 1492 a new monetary reform was necessary.

This volume is well written, but it will clearly be of greater interest to numismatists than to historians. The problems of economic

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history are only treated insofar as they influence monetary policy.

HOWARD L. ADELSON
City College,
City University of New York

FRANZ MACHILEK. *Ludolf von Sagan und seine Stellung in der Auseinandersetzung um Konziliarismus und Hussitismus.* (Wissenschaftliche Materialien und Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde der böhmischen Länder, Number 8.) Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche. 1967. Pp. vi, 256. DM 16.

Ludolf, an abbot of an Augustinian convent at Sagan (Żagań) in Silesia, was a minor figure among the polemical writers at the time of the Great Schism and the Hussite movement. A book on him is a valuable contribution as it recaptures the echoes of the struggles afflicting Western Christendom late in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Dr. Machilek's monograph, originally a doctoral dissertation, is not a swift-moving story but rather a painstaking analysis of the learned abbot's work presented in context with efforts to restore Church unity. Critical footnotes take almost as much space as the description of Ludolf's life and literary activities. The author has dug out information both from unprinted and published sources, and he has mastered critical literature in German, Polish, and Czech. The most important product of Ludolf's endeavors was his *Tractatus de longevo schismate,* from which Johann Loserth published substantial excerpts in the third volume of his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hussitischen Bewegung* (Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, [1880] 60: 345–561).

Ludolf lent support to those both among the spiritual and secular leaders who viewed the *via cessionis* as the shortest and safest road toward restitution of Church unity. Dr. Machilek calls attention not only to the lengthy treatise *De longevo schismate* but also to Ludolf's other contributions, such as his sermon *In una domo comedetis* preached before the Council of Pisa. Ludolf's attitude toward Hus and the movement kindled by him was uncompromising and negative. Ludolf's hostility was motivated equally by his aversion to dissent with the established authority and by his dislike of the Czechs—from the treatise *De longevo schismate* has often been quoted Ludolf's comparison of the Czech-German relationship with that of the Jews and Samaritans. Although Dr. Machilek's book deals primarily with Ludolf's literary work, it contains also a good deal of information concerning his pastoral activities. The second chapter of the first part of the book is particularly interesting as it presents in outline conditions in the Sagan convent both prior to Ludolf's election and under his leadership. Sagan had lively contacts with other Augustinian convents in the lands of the Bohemian Crown; some of its outstanding members, including Ludolf, received training at Charles University in Prague. Briefly, Dr. Machilek has deepened our understanding of Church life in Central Europe during the troubled decades of divisions.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK
University of Pennsylvania

Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number 25. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1971. Pp. x, 285. $20.00.

The *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* continue to guard their preserve as the major publication in Byzantine studies originating in this country. In the present volume seven long studies and several important notes are presented; four of the major studies depend from the 1969 Symposium on Byzantine Society held at Dumbarton Oaks and have that structural relationship not always present in this or other journals in the field; this is a mark in their favor.

All of the scholars whose work is reproduced here have the courage to tackle major, and thorny, problems in Byzantine society. George Ostrogorsky's study, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," examines a phenomenon that is all too easily misidentified and simplistically analyzed. Ostrogorsky is, of course, a specialist in important areas directly or indirectly touching on the Byzantine aristocracy's appearance, growth, and development. In this study he gives us a general survey, both chronologic and topical, of Byzantine aristocracy, and he holds a moderate position on most points of conflict.

The main difficulty in dealing with an aristocratic elite is that only rarely can one single or

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specific set of characteristics be used as an analytic foundation; worse, a specific elite can refuse to identify itself, or identifies itself in such an impressionistic fashion that the sum of structural attributes leaves us with a rather disjointed and well-gnawed skeleton. Observations on the Byzantine aristocracy need not, obviously, be the unitary and complete diagnosis of the complete social phenomenon, but Ostrogorsky must have felt the need to bring his segmented remarks together in some fashion.

Since there is no space to either list or criticize the disparate points made by Ostrogorsky, I can merely say that the problems bound up in the historical movement of the aristocracy are well defined. The military and foreign element or origin of many noble houses is noted, though the author curiously does not identify the Armenian dominance in both the European and Anatolian aristocracies in their formative years. Ostrogorsky properly points out the importance of the development of aristocratic "retinues" (possibly oath-bound), the groups of followers who are now seen to be characteristic in Byzantine as well as other feudalized societies.

John Teall's "The Byzantine Agricultural Tradition" undertakes to revise our thinking about the reputed economic fossilization of the Byzantine East. Teall states that a closer view of Byzantine society shows an agricultural area not decadent but expansive—so expansive, in fact, that its dynamism adversely affected the society at large. Teall makes the important point that the orthodox view of the decadence of the Empire concentrates on the collapse at the center. The agricultural area—in a premodern society, the key economic segment—is difficult to analyze, but from the information we have there are strong signs of vitality even in the final years of the Byzantine state. Teall, in fact, provides an explanation for the economic health of the succeeding Ottoman Empire: if the Byzantine lands, especially Anatolia, had been a desert, what sort of Ottoman power could have been built on them?

The Teall thesis rests on his reading of the aggressiveness of the Byzantine agriculturist, his technical expertise sharpened by hard necessity. The loss of the grain treasury of Egypt, for example, had to be made up in the seventh and succeeding centuries by increased cereal production in the vicinity of Constantinople. The evidence for Teall's thesis is admittedly sparse; I believe, however, that his reading is accurate and that his re-estimation of the data contained in the hagiographies makes a valuable supportive point.

Peter Charanis's "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society" surveys the important monastic component in this society as a demographic or quantitative problem, with excursuses into the educational, philanthropic, and inspirational role of the monks. The monastic vocation was, in Byzantium, the great leveler; to take it up was to become the earthly paradigm of the saved soul. The multifarious and sometimes paradoxical aspect of Byzantine monasticism might have been more sharply drawn here—as also that in a society we now recognize as more mobile and "open," the monastic life added a different, a spiritual mobility. Charanis's study should encourage a closer look at the variations in social roles that the monks might have played, depending on both internal and external historical developments.

Nina Garsoian's "Byzantine Heresy: A Reinterpretation" comes to grips with the much-debated heresies of the middle Byzantine era, and especially Paulicianism. Miss Garsoian states, and we must agree, that simplistic formulae assigning the Paulician outbreak to either class antagonism, foreign (especially Armenian) influence, or a late Gnostic-Manichaean irruption fail on the evidence. The evidence—much of it, as usual, from hostile orthodox polemical sources—describes, when carefully considered, a "heresy" that was espoused widely by important officers of state during the Iconoclastic period (and was, then, obviously acceptable to the authorities). Extreme iconoclasm seems indeed to have had a powerful effect on the neo-Paulicians. Moreover, Paulicianism, properly dissected, resembles in many points the mystical theology of such problematic figures as Simeon the New Theologian.

All this, Miss Garsoian is careful to say, does not pretend to identify Paulicianism with iconoclasm or make Simeon a Paulician heresiarch. The murky and polemic-ridden area of Byzantine heresy is clarified, however, when Paulicianism is closely related not to some separated *locus diabolus* but to the central currents and concerns of middle-Byzantine doctrinal thought and controversy.

Ihor Ševčenko's study on the "Toparcha

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Gothicus" is not tied to the social theme of the first four papers; it is a paleographical exercise of a most instructive sort, a dissection of three fragments added on to the work of the Byzantine historian Leo Diaconus by his early nineteenth-century editor, K. B. Hase. These fragments, "previously unpublished, and unknown," describe a vaguely south Russian scene and give a kind of tenth-century travelogue of an expedition among the barbarians there. The fragments can be used—Byzantine sources are not so plentiful that any of them can be idly cast out—to give some details of the Byzantine penetration into the steppe lands or at least their knowledge of these lands, but the fragments seem to give us strange and contradictory data. So they should, for Ševčenko is convinced—and convinces us, on well-considered linguistic and other grounds—that Hase concocted them himself. We can admire the deftness with which this piece of chicanery—or misplaced romanticism—is exposed, but we should also remember that many of our most familiar historical sources were last edited in the early nineteenth century, and Ševčenko's exposé, if it does not recommend that we toss out Migne and the entire CSHB instanter, does encourage new editors in their difficult tasks.

David Pingree's examination of the fourteenth-century astrologer John Abramius gives us an insight into the complex world of these ambiguous figures. Abramius is revealed to be an exemplar of the type: involved in "political" astrology as a supporter of Andronicus IV Palaeologos; an energetic compiler and transmitter of the vast Hellenistic astrological heritage; and even a semiscientific observer. Byzantinists generally know far less than they should about the Byzantine enthusiasm for astrology, and Pingree provides a good, meaty remedy.

Peter Schreiner's contribution, an exercise in paleographical archeology, gives us a previously undiscovered manuscript description of the Church of the Pammakaristos (Fethiye Cami) in Constantinople, a description written in the sixteenth century of inscriptions in various parts of the church, especially memorial inscriptions, and other wonders contained in it.

The twenty-fifth volume of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* continues the established tradition: impeccably turned out, with numerous plates (referring particularly to the appended excavation reports and notes); careful and classical in intent and configuration.

D. A. MILLER
University of Rochester

MODERN EUROPE

ANTHONY MOLHO and JOHN A. TEDESCHI, editors. *Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Hans Baron.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1971. Pp. lxxxvii, 874. $25.00.

The collection begins with appreciations by three eminent scholars—Eugenio Garin, August Buck, and Denys Hay. They headline Hans Baron's long concern with the study of relations between politics and culture, a concern whose results are best seen in the winning fortunes of the phrase "civic humanism." The phrase's underlying perception indicates his facility for relating ideas to their context. But the appreciations do not point out that Baron has frequently taken a focused view of politics, often putting diplomatic and military crises at the center of his analyses. In so doing he has been able to associate ideas with events; hence his interest in the exact dating of texts and the unusual precision in the texture of his work. Yet his procedures, significantly, exhibit no Marxism, despite his coming of age in Germany in the 1920s. For all his interest in the interplay between politics and ideas and despite his accent upon specific events, Baron's method has always retained an idealist strain. This is the more remarkable in that his performance has elicited studies from others with more than the ghost of materialism in their posing of questions. The man's impact upon conflicting historical viewpoints is a major part of his achievement.

In reviewing these studies my chief interest will be the connection between experience (for example, politics) and reasoned statement (for example, political theory). I shall draw upon Baron's syncretic vision of texts and contexts.

Italy produced the first texts in which the word *libertas* refers to republican liberty. Ronald Witt does a study of these. He shrewdly suggests that the intellectual tradition befuddled political experience, delaying a rethinking of the concept of *libertas*, by constantly casting the pertinent discussions in terms of good and bad government. We have only to consider the orientation of studies in late medieval universi-

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ties: there was an abyss, in Trecento Italy at all events, between theory on the one hand and the scramble for power on the other. Later Tuscany saw the erosion of political experience. Eric Cochrane accounts for why serious political philosophy was impossible in Tuscany's seventeenth-century conditions: the patriciate was denied any forceful participation in politics and there were no shifting horizons or bases fit to move the observer into raising questions on a searching scale.

Ideas live through discussion that draws upon vital experience. We see paradigmatic instances of this in Reformation Europe. L. W. Spitz treats Germany's reception of humanism by tracing the humanist influence in the Reformers' emphasis upon languages, rhetoric, poetry, and moral philosophy. The Reformers took methods and weapons, not a point of view. Humanism did not transmit an anthropology, at least not to Lutheran Germany. This point is obliquely made by Gerald Strauss, who writes on Lutheran historical views. Despite humanism, the practice of history (largely chronicle) remained unchanged in Germany until about 1550, when, as an effect of the Lutheran experience, a new mode of historical writing emerged, with a clear emphasis on Germany. National consciousness, made incandescent by religious controversy, was intellectually decisive, not humanism, which gave means and trappings.

France presented a different scene. There the reception and generation of new ideas and the reform or strengthening of the Gallican church depended, to a surprising extent, on lawyers, magistrates, and powerful royal officials—men very often sprung from prominent but "newish" families. Vigorous and ambitious, they hitched their fortunes to the Crown's, lent a direction to French culture, and drew selectively from what humanism offered. I cull these observations from E. F. Rice, Jr. ("The Patrons of French Humanism"), Samuel Kinser ("Ideas of Temporal Change"), W. L. Gundersheimer ("The Crisis of the Late French Renaissance"), and W. J. Bouwsma ("Gallicanism and the Nature of Christendom"). That most members of the "bureaucratic nobility" (Rice) ignored humanistic studies means that individual taste was a prime mover. But it does not follow, save as an effect of reification in the history of ideas, that the "humanist program was politically, socially, and economically neutral" (p. 701). Humanism could not in practice be neutral. Exceptional circumstances and men aside, it was, as an educational ideal, beyond the economic means of all but a tiny social elite. And the ensuing political outlook, if taken from classical writers, was bound to be aristocratic or monarchical. No wonder that Renaissance apologists for monarchy and oligarchical republicans had no trouble conversing.

Relating texts to contexts is one of the historian's hardest tasks. But if he gets his contexts right, his all-important definitions and questions will come right too. Giles Constable ends his study, "The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages," where the job of analysis begins. Of course the twelfth and fifteenth centuries "shared religious interests and attitudes" (p. 26). No one disputes this. The burden was to identify the pertinent circle of fifteenth-century readers so as to get at the significance of the continuing popularity of certain twelfth-century texts. Contexts are also blurred by T. C. Price Zimmermann ("Confession and Autobiography in the Early Renaissance") and N. W. Gilbert ("The Early Italian Humanists and Disputation"). In the exercise of historical perception, a text can be flogged to death by excessive analysis. After all, a sonnet can become the occasion for an exercise in dialectics. But if we have our contexts right, we will do less of that and have little trouble seeing that humble memorialists like Giovanni Morelli and Goro Dati are more in line with the development of autobiography than Petrarch. And again, as Gilbert shows, the early humanists did not dismiss logic and disputation; they de-emphasized these. But taken in its historical context, that de-emphasis was so freshly articulated and observed that it is rightly singled out as a departure from the prevailing intellectual tradition. By the same means we can swiftly apprehend the design of P. F. Grendler's paper on the meaning of "humanist" in Cinquecento Italy: it traces a process of professionalization. Shortly after 1500 the word begins to crystalize around the image of the teacher of classical languages and literature. But I am mystified by the approach of George Huppert's "The Idea of Civi-

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lization in the Sixteenth Century," which perceives a new historical consciousness in the use of words like *civilisé* and *civilité*. Maybe, but the argument is elusive: Huppert does not provide a historical environment concrete enough for us to receive his representations securely. That a new sense of history was about is clear from D. R. Kelley's "History as a Calling." And the spreading bruise of passionate religious ideology, more than the lures of humanism, must have had much to do with the aroused sense of perspectives.

Thirteen of these papers are cast partly in the context of a growing, or disputed, state power. This says much about the direction of current studies and sensibilities. I have mentioned the papers by Rice, Bouwsma, Cochrane, Kinser, and Witt; they betray concern for the power and rumble of the state. So also the following: R. C. Trexler, "Death and Testament in the Episcopal Constitutions of Florence"; W. M. Bowsky, "City and Contado: Military Relationships . . . in Fourteenth Century Siena"; M. B. Becker, "Towards a Renaissance Historiography in Florence"; Julius Kirshner, "Paolo di Castro on 'Cives ex Privilegio' "; Sergio Bertelli, "Pier Soderini . . . 1502–1512"; Randolph Starn, "Francesco Guicciardini and his Brothers"; J. R. Hale, "The Provveditori alle Fortezze"; and R. B. Litchfield, "Office-Holding in Florence after the Republic."

Bowsky's invaluable piece documents the Sienese oligarchy's imposition (1287–1355) of military controls and obligations on Siena's neighboring lands. Kirshner illustrates Florence's use of legal talent (1400–25) to help restrict the conferral of citizenship upon men from subject Florentine lands. Although lawyers could be found to resist this trend, oligarchy triumphed with the support of lawyers. Becker labors to trace a shift in chroniclers' attitudes toward politics and the state. Trexler's fresh material clinches something we strongly suspected: the fact that in cases of usury Florentine temporal authority often gave way to episcopal courts. Bertelli and Starn broach the devious period (1500–30) of Florence's transition from republican oligarchy to principate. The former presents a clever and suggestive case for Soderini's angling to turn himself into lord of Florence. Starn highlights the background, politics, and achievements of the Guicciardini brothers, subtly bringing out their corporate as well as their individual qualities. Litchfield studies the political survival and bureaucratic persistence of the great old Florentine families of the republican age. And Hale breaks the Florentine monopoly with a detailed study, spanning the years 1542–92, of the Venetian magistracy charged with Venice's fortifications on land and sea.

The essays by Giovanni Ponte, Carlo Pincin, Cecil Grayson, and Riccardo Scrivano are more literary than historical. Donald Wilcox and Donald Weinstein are again on Florentine ground: the latter with the text of a historical apocalypse, Wilcox with an essay on Matteo Palmieri's failure to learn from Leonardo Bruni's use of psychology in historical analysis. The context for C. G. Nauert's paper on Peter of Ravenna (d. 1511) is the Cologne university world, with its keen corporate pride and jealousies attendant upon carrying an intellectual controversy beyond the walls of academe. The remaining contributions touch questions of tolerance and intolerance: Anthony Molho's note on Jewish moneylenders in Tuscany, J. A. Tedeschi's documents throwing new light on the workings of the "Index of Prohibited Books," and T. K. Rabb's discussion of Sandys's *Relation of the State of Religion* (1599).

No large *Festschrift* can observe a consistently superior level of perception and argument, but ten or twelve of these papers are outstanding enough to provide the others with a plenary indulgence.

LAURO MARTINES
University of California, Los Angeles

JEAN-JACQUES HÉMARDINQUER, editor. *Pour une histoire de l'alimentation: Recueil de travaux.* (Cahiers des *Annales*, Number 28.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 315.

LOUIS STOUFF. *Ravitaillement et alimentation en Provence aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles.* (École Pratiques des Hautes Études, Sorbonne. VI^e^ Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 20.) Paris: Mouton & Co. 1970. Pp. 507. 72 fr.

More than Sir Lewis Namier and his followers have done, the dominant school of social and economic historians in France has taken the

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mind—in the sense of formal ideas or creative will—out of history. Thus, if it is to reflect the state of advanced scholarship in the field, the well-taught seminar on traditional Europe must take into account those elementary facts of life—birth, copulation, and death. The two volumes under review focus on another important and rapidly developing area of this new history—alimentation—and together they provide a good overview of roughly a decade's research on the biological, psychological, administrative, and social dimensions of the history of food and of patterns of food consumption.

Pour une histoire de l'alimentation, a volume of the Cahiers des *Annales,* reflects current French leadership of alimentary studies. Although the product of an international collaboration, this collection of thirty-three articles and notes is predominantly the work of scholars who cluster around the twin poles of the new history—the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the journal *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations.* Following in the spirit of the *Annales* these essays involve the research of nutritionists as well as historians, and the essays range chronologically from medieval to contemporary times. However, greatest emphasis is put upon the history of preindustrial Europe and upon regional or local studies. In its major themes this compilation illustrates the seminal influence of Fernand Braudel upon a generation of European scholarship. It was Braudel who, in 1961, urged a major collaborative investigation of alimentation, and he contributes an exhortative introduction to this volume that outlines his hopes for future research and for an "histoire majoritaire de l'alimentation." The master's vision and rhetoric appear, unfortunately, to exceed the present and practical possibilities in the field. Many of the contributions testify to the difficulties of uncovering good, systematic sources and to the continuing inadequacy of our knowledge about popular diet in the preindustrial past.

In large part such research problems have been overcome by Louis Stouff in his rich and admirable regional monograph, *Ravitaillement et alimentation en Provence aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles.* From a remarkably wide range of sources Stouff has constructed an alimentary history that is notable for its breadth of approach and for the solidity of its documentation. He discusses not only what the *Provençaux* ate and in what quantities, but also the administration or police of food in the communes and urban centers; the organization and the society of the major provisioners—the butchers and bakers; and, to a lesser extent, the history of the poor whose diet and survival depended on sufficient grain supplies. Of greatest importance is Stouff's long second chapter on the provision of meat. A singularly good source—the butchers' accounts of the small city of Carpentras from 1418 to 1478—allows Stouff to trace the increasing consumption of meat by this urban population, and he concludes that per capita consumption in the later fifteenth century reached a peak that would not be matched until modern times. However, average levels of consumption hide the great gulf between the rich and poor that existed in diet as in other things. Stouff fully recognizes this social differential, and he tempers his principal thesis—that the *Provençaux* were adequately nourished in the late Middle Ages—by linking the periodic bad years and demographic crises to a popular diet disproportionately composed of bread.

With a certain consistency the contributors to *Pour une histoire de l'alimentation* extend Stouff's general conclusions to the entire preindustrial past and argue that, in simple animal terms, caloric intake tended to support the output of energy and labor. Thus Frank Spooner analyzes several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century regimens and concludes that "the spread of these figures does not give the impression of acute undernourishment." André Wyczanski's article on a sixteenth-century Polish estate suggests that farm workers enjoyed "a rather elevated level of food consumption." The city of Valladolid, according to Bartolomé Bennassar, was well supplied during the sixteenth century, and meat consumption "was substantial, superior to that of the average Spaniard in the twentieth century." Several scholars examine military, and particularly marine, rations in the early modern period and observe that these rations, if monotonous, were ample for a man's basic daily needs. The conclusions of such studies are not monolithic; nor are they without nuance. But the general thrust is clear: traditional Europe appears to have had reasonably adequate levels of nourishment, even during the dismal seventeenth century.

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The relatively optimistic conclusions of the alimentary historians must be compared to the grim story of stagnant populations and high mortality rates that the demographic historians have so convincingly documented for the seventeenth century. In part the different emphases stem from the alimentary historians' primary interest in subsistence, rather than in subsistence crises. There is also a problem of sources. Most of the materials cited are drawn either from institutional records or focus on the upper strata of society. Anne-Marie Piuz's "Alimentation populaire et sous-alimentation au XVII[e] siècle: le cas de Genève et sa région" offers a corrective to these biases. Piuz, like Stouff, insists on the importance of an "alimentation différentielle" that found expression in the "ferocity" of the bourgeoisie during times of food crisis and that condemned the poor to a precarious state of health. Regional variations were also extreme. Abel Poitrineau, for example, finds substantial differences in the popular diet, and therefore in the well-being, of the neighboring populations of the mountains and plains of eighteenth-century Auvergne. Thus the history of food can give a more precise regional and social context to the broad patterns of life and death that are the chief matter of demographic history.

At its best, alimentary history also serves a larger purpose—what Louis Stouff calls "la résurrection intégrale du passé." This phrase summarizes well the shared faith of the authors of these two works that out of the mundane materials of daily life, there is indeed a new history to be fashioned.

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD
Yale University

HUBERT JEDIN. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trent.* Volume 3, *Bologneser Tagung (1547/48); Zweite Trienter Tagungsperiode (1551/52).* Freiburg: Herder. 1970. Pp. xiii, 560.

Thirteen years separate the third volume of Professor Jedin's history of the Council of Trent from the second (1957), which covered the period from the council's opening in December 1545 until its transfer fifteen months later to Bologna. Volume 1 had been published in 1949: as a monumental prelude it gave us, in part, the vast historical background of conciliar ideas and attempted reforms in the century before Trent, and, in part, the complex foreground of wars, intrigues, and failures that delayed a conciliar answer to Luther for one-fourth of a century. Time has not weakened Professor Jedin's resolve, set forth on the first page of the first volume, to write the history for which "the world has been waiting since the days of Sarpi and Pallavicini, the history that would be more than a partisan accusation or apology." The present volume carries this history through the sessions after the transfer of the council to Bologna to its resumption at Trent under Pope Julius III.

When Jedin began drafting this volume no one foresaw that the Second Vatican Council would soon assemble to give a mighty impulse to ecumenical and ecclesiological concerns. For the historian of Trent the new council provided a grandiose lesson, the more so if the historian became active as a consultant (*peritus*) in the ongoing work of Vatican II. This of course slowed down Jedin's writing, but it deepened the perspective of his story as it unfolds, the story of fateful mistakes made on all sides during those years of the mid-sixteenth century when the religious rift of Germany widened into a breaking up of the Western Church.

The reader of the earlier volumes and Jedin's other writings has come to expect from the septuagenarian the sure touch he shows again in handling all the intricate detail of sixteenth-century politics, the workings of Church institutions, and the controversial issues in theology and canon law. For the two phases of the council here discussed, the edition of the *Acta* in the Goerres Society's Tridentine Corpus has by now proceeded far enough to make a well-informed account feasible—in fact, for the first time as far as the Bolognese episode is concerned. The correspondence of the papal legates was an additional source of great value for this period, while for the years of the second convocation it is practically lost; so is its counterpart, the political correspondence of Julius III. The reports and letters of ambassadors and envoys, above all the ambassadors of the emperor, Charles V, thus gain a particular importance; but they must be read with circumspection as they are often prejudiced and full of *ex parte* aspersions. New documents do still turn up in our day (compare p. 539) but

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regrettable gaps remain in our source material, such as the text of the Spanish memorandum on reform (compare pp. 293, 505 n.2, p. 537). New archival research, the author insists, is desirable as regards the Protestants' preparation for and appearance at the council (see bibliographical note 15 on page 509).

As in the earlier volumes, the history of these years is told on the three interlocking planes of political maneuvering, efforts at reform, and the making of dogmatic decrees. The history does not have many edifying moments. The transfer to Bologna was an embarrassing mistake; the second convocation at Trent—at first diplomatically and timidly styled as a new council—did not achieve what the emperor had hoped: a true synodal dialogue between Catholics and Protestants. The reform work of the period 1547–52 is meager. Many of the theological discussions in the preparatory meetings had a remarkable level, yet the decrees that were eventually published on the Eucharist, penance, and the anointing of the sick cannot compare with a great document of positive theology such as the decree on justification, promulgated during the first period of the council. The decrees of 1551 were solid enough, but one may well ask whether they really came to grips with the spiritual concerns that lay behind the Protestant dissent. From the vantage point of today's ecumenical endeavors we may be tempted to give this question a quick answer. It was, however, not an easy question in its own time, and Jedin quite impartially sees that responsibility and blame must be shared by all concerned: by pope and emperor, legates and bishops, Protestant estates and divines. After the failures of 1552 another ten years were to elapse before the council was reassembled in the third and final convocation. Professor Jedin treated its crises and problems in earlier studies: may he soon bring to a close in a fourth volume his *Geschichte*. It should remain definitive for generations to come.

STEPHAN KUTTNER
University of California, Berkeley

THÉODORE DE BÈZE. *Du droit des magistrats.* Edited with introduction and notes by ROBERT M. KINGDON. (Les classiques de la pensée politique, Number 7.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1970. Pp. xlvii, 104.

Professor Kingdon's introduction traces the development of Beza's theories of resistance from the dispute with Castellion in 1554 (when Beza invoked the *Bekenntnis* of Magdeburg), through the second version of the *Confession de la foi chrétienne* in 1560 (when Beza responded to the suppression of the conspiracy of Amboise), to the mature "constitutional" theory of *Du droit des magistrats,* composed in June and July of 1573 (when Beza reacted to the crisis of St. Bartholomew's Day). Beza's involvement in political intrigues to defend the rights of noble Huguenot exiles and to stop Henry of Anjou's election as king of Poland influenced Beza's thought. And fear of offending the king of France and Swiss Catholic allies explains the Genevan council's opposition (documented in an appendix) to publication of this defense of active resistance. Kingdon argues in less detail the originality and enduring influence of Beza's constitutional approach, which justifies resistance by both representative assemblies and magistrates.

The text is that of the first French edition (Heidelberg, 1574). Kingdon believes Beza translated it from Latin and took it to Heidelberg, where he was involved in negotiations between the prince de Condé and the Elector Palatine, Frederick III. Consultation of ten editions revealed insignificant variations, which are indicated in footnotes. Footnotes also identify and verify references to classical and medieval writings, Roman law, and Scripture. Appendixes include other statements by Beza on resistance, extracts from town council registers, a letter from Josias Simler commenting on Beza's theory, and an index, from a later Latin edition, of Beza's replies to traditional objections to the doctrine of resistance. An excellent bibliography and glossary also help make this an extremely useful edition of a "classic of political thought."

THOMAS N. TENTLER
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

KARL MOMMSEN. *Auf dem Wege zur Staatssouveränität: Staatliche Grundbegriffe in Basler juristischen Doktordisputationen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts.* Bern: Francke Verlag. 1970. Pp. 283. 43.50 fr. S.

This is a book that should have been an article. The author uses a new source—seventeenth-

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and eighteenth-century doctoral disputations by juristic candidates at Basel—to try to get at the way of thinking about politics in this era. He comes up with some highly interesting conclusions. These juristic disputations continually drew their political concepts from traditional feudal and hierarchical legal relationships; they constantly used the Holy Roman Empire as the very model of a political entity, and until well into the eighteenth century they largely neglected or rejected the most profoundly modern political thinkers of their era—Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, and Locke. In short, until the Enlightenment these jurists did not think at all in the terminology of the modern state. Mommsen argues that these Swiss jurists found legitimacy for their own political forms in the relationship between Switzerland and the Holy Roman Empire, and that even after the Treaty of Westphalia they could not divest themselves of the Empire's Christian, universalistic political conceptions until Enlightenment thinkers had popularized a new basis for political legitimacy—namely, the sovereignty of the people, and with popular sovereignty the sovereignty of states.

Mommsen is able to generalize his conclusions to apply them to other Central European territories outside Switzerland, and, indeed, he could have made an excellent article out of his findings. But he unfortunately chose to present his material as a book, and as a singularly pedestrian one at that. The bulk of it is a plodding summary of disputation after disputation, shuffled, to be sure, under thematic chapter headings (the ruler, the tyrant, regalian rights, and so on), but otherwise organized only by chronology. This makes for desperately dull reading—rather like reading a volume of *Dissertation Abstracts* from cover to cover. Surely a historian should digest his material better than this; what Mommsen gives us are a few very penetrating comments in what is essentially an almost unreadable chronicle.

CAROL ROSE
Ohio State University

IRVING M. ZEITLIN. *Liberty, Equality, and Revolution in Alexis de Tocqueville.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1971. Pp. xiii, 172. $2.95.

This brief critical study is truly Tocquevillian in one sense. It is neither a systematic analysis of Tocqueville's ideas on liberty, equality, or revolution nor a historical analysis of the social context in which they were elaborated. Zeitlin straightforwardly follows Tocqueville through his own geographical itinerary and deals in turn with Tocqueville's vision of the United States, England, and France. In each case the author deftly and concisely summarizes Tocqueville's ideas and then evaluates them in the light of the best recent studies on the same subjects with all the cumulative advantage of a century's research. It is quite a test of and testimonial to the resiliency of the original.

In the spirit of the best previous sociological treatment of Tocqueville, Zeitlin deals with him as part of an ongoing debate on the general tendencies of modern social development. He differs from this sociological tradition precisely in that in the inevitable contrast between Tocqueville and Marx, Zeitlin clearly prefers Marx's approach and prefers Tocqueville where his vision converges with that of his revolutionary contemporary. Zeitlin is therefore least satisfied with Tocqueville's analysis where it is dominated by the aristocratic-democratic dichotomy. This is obvious in Tocqueville's treatment of America and England. Zeitlin employs recent scholarship to underline Tocqueville's failure to see or to incorporate data on the lower classes into his analysis of these two societies. He is far more comfortable with Tocqueville's *Souvenirs* on France in 1848 and with his study of the *ancien régime,* where class analysis, in Marx's sense, becomes more explicit. The treatment of the *ancien régime,* the most novel and stimulating part of this study, is an effort to fit Tocqueville's work into recent historical controversy over the interpretation of the French Revolution. Zeitlin argues that Tocqueville basically adheres to the bourgeois-democratic and bourgeois-capitalist interpretation of the Marx-Lefebvre school. I have reservations about this argument, given Tocqueville's tendency to devote only the most passing glance to structural socioeconomic change. Although in *Ancien Régime* his glance lingered a bit longer than before, the focus was still so clearly on questions of public administration and civil status that one has to strain at calling Tocqueville's French Revolution bourgeois-capitalist.

Perhaps what strikes one as most significant about this book is that the social analysis of a

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nineteenth-century aristocrat continues to interest even those who, like Zeitlin, find Tocqueville's moral or psychological perspective either limited or downright distasteful. Something of this French notable's vision had evocative potential beyond the boundaries of his time and class.

SEYMOUR DRESCHER
University of Pittsburgh

PETER CLARK and PAUL SLACK, editors. *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500–1700: Essays in Urban History*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. xvi, 364. $15.00.

In recent years there has been a surge of interest in English urban history and for no period has this been of more significance than for the early modern period. In a suggestive introductory essay the editors argue that English urban society from 1500 to 1700 "witnessed a major collision of continuity and change" and that within an apparently ordered framework, many communities underwent "a severe reorientation affecting all sectors of urban life." The most significant changes appear to have occurred within the second tier of urban society, the medium-sized municipal centers. In the fifteenth century these had provided the predominant image of the urban community, but by the eighteenth century the most dynamic centers were either new agglomerations like Birmingham, which had risen from the bottom of the urban hierarchy, or the great ancient cities like Bristol, "aping the urban modernity of London."

The individual essays illustrate this transformation in a variety of ways. Charles Pythian-Adams's study of the communal year at Coventry opens up a theme of considerable interest through an analysis of the role of ceremonial in the lives of the citizens. In pre-Reformation Coventry civic ceremonial became a mode for containing the tensions inherent within a hierarchical society that excluded one-fifth of adult males and nearly all women from participation in political life. By tracing the triumph of the secular over the ritualistic components in this framework of ceremonial, Pythian-Adams is able to make valuable observations about the dissolution of community claims on the citizen in the face of emerging class loyalties. D. M. Palliser's study of the trade guilds of Tudor York counters the arguments advanced by Kramer and Marshall by producing evidence that suggests that the guild was not necessarily a restrictive instrument for remedying economic decay nor one whose control intensified contraction. At York the elaboration of guild controls coincided with a period of prosperity, while it was under the stress of the decay of the textile industry that craft requirements were relaxed.

Peter Clark's study, based extensively on the biographical information found in the ecclesiastical court deposition books of the Canterbury diocese, concentrates on migration within and into East Kent, particularly in Canterbury, Maidstone, and Faversham. The evidence suggests that the bulk of migrants were young and moved only short distances but that the migration itself played a significant role in urban society "affecting not only the demographic landscape but the political superstructures and the fabric of community consciousness" as well. Clark also stresses the large scale of mobility in Kent and its volatile character, noting the problems this raises with standard demographic techniques such as aggregative analysis and family reconstitution. Paul Slack indicates with graphic clarity the catastrophic effects of bad harvests and pestilence on the prosperity of Salisbury between 1597 and 1666 and makes a careful analysis of the responses offered by the Puritan oligarchy of the town. The program, as ambitious as it was, failed to reduce the problem to a manageable size, and succeeding generations became more concerned with the repression and isolation of the poor than with solving the problem of poverty. M. J. Power's contribution is one of the most noteworthy in the volume; his piecing together in remarkable detail of information about housing construction and standards in the East End of London is virtually a pioneering study of urban history on topographical lines.

A. M. Johnson's analysis of politics in Chester 1640–62 illuminates the continuous growth of oligarchic magistracy, which is one of the most obvious elements in English urban history between 1500 and 1700. The pragmatism and expediency of the city magnates in the face of the English revolution and the policy of adherence to the city's constitution by successive

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ruling groups were the product of this process. Penelope Corfield shows that in its specialization of function in the seventeenth century Norwich differed from the formal model of the preindustrial city, which tends to be heterogeneous in function. The crucial determinant of the city's well-being was the worsted weaving industry; since this was true both in the long and short term, the late seventeenth century, which appears in retrospect to have been a period of growth and adaptation, could appear to contemporaries as one in which the urban economy was very insecure. The volume concludes with a first-class essay by D. W. Jones on London merchants and the crisis of 1690, showing how London merchants diverted capital from the wine trade into the Bank of England and then into the New East India Company under the pressures caused by Continental war.

In short, this volume offers much both in substance and in promise. The new techniques being brought to bear on urban history are opening up substantially new areas of study. No pretense is made that this volume is comprehensive; both themes of enquiry, such as education, and numerous significant urban centers, such as Bristol, receive scant mention. But these essays, valuable in themselves, indicate what can be done as urban historiography grows out of its immaturity.

ROGER HOWELL, JR.
Bowdoin College

G. R. ELTON. *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 446. $19.50.

As a long-time admirer of Professor Elton and his truly brilliant gifts, I cannot start this review of his most recent book by pretending surprise over its greatness. Nor, I think, can I suppose that this is a book everyone will admire. For two decades we have seen Elton carve out for himself a secure niche on the old wall of rigorous, empiricist methodology, as he has written history without the distractions of much that is fashionable in the art and science today. This book consolidates his position as the prince of a kingdom some will describe as reactionary and others will dub neopositivist. I welcome his devotion to the old professional tradition he continues. And I hail his success in following the precepts of "the master who rules all historians," the available evidence. Indeed, it is this phrase vouched for in his manuals for students that puts Elton's book in rightful perspective. I shall use the space here to explain why this is so.

What has been essential in Elton's other work of original character has been his ability to martial vast quantities of evidence in order to describe institutions and analyze the changes taking place in them. His concern has been for the machinery of government, both descriptively and in the context of human stories able to illuminate administration. He has insisted that such work is prerequisite to knowing an age from the inside, and he has made no bones about this being his objective, in the sense Tout believed it possible to know an age from the inside. No part of *Policy and Police* shows Elton's persistence in this belief more than the monograph, internal to the book, entitled "In Every Part of the Realm." Here we may see what is so stunning in Elton's work, for in this part of the book are knit together unrivaled technical understanding of the documents and the insight needed to use the mastery fruitfully. By very careful reading of documents long familiar, Elton has been able to put the study of the Reformation on a new footing. Without sacrificing the narrative flow he has put under the microscope specimens important to any understanding of what the new legislation and formulations of faith meant to the people on the receiving end. His narrative goes forward in order to find out what the government's problem was in making its injunctions heeded. This concern forces him to ask what the government's methods were for detecting disobedience, for apprehending and trying offenders, and for enlisting support for its policies.

What emerges beyond a doubt is that the Reformation in the 1530s was no cakewalk for Cromwell and the Crown. There was resistance, and plenty of it. Cromwell emerges as the supporter of Protestant causes and people; he was patient and cool, but not quite detached, if not an ideologue. The support he gave the more ardent spirits in town and country (see especially the sections on Bristol and Oxford) made his hold on power at the center a tricky

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business. Cromwell had once lectured Lord Lisle on the theme that governors are set in power to make concord. But Cromwell's own ministry often put an alarmingly sharp edge on divisions in little societies in every part of England. It was not only the north that was unquiet. In nearly every shire south of Trent Elton has stripped away the covering to show how baseless is the old way of talking about the loyal south and the rebellious north. Cromwell emerges in this study as a man preoccupied with maintaining a religious revolution.

In the course of demonstrating this Elton has shown several important things. He has shown that Cromwell was fully aware of the need to supply the clerical and intellectual leadership necessary for success in every region of the realm. This subject takes Elton into waters he might earlier have avoided. He manifests a clear interest in how Protestant ideas permeated different communities and by what means, especially through what social groups, for example, in Rye and in Gloucester. Some will be surprised by this because Elton is not interested in the sociopolitical structure of these communities for their own sake, nor even in "the passion for the reform" (p. 107) he found in Cromwell. Much less does the author want to gather together the material about such subjects and put it in the service of some grand hypothesis about how the Reformation came about. Instead, Elton wants to practice the sort of history he has preached—narrative made thick by the analysis of documents and their systematic exposition. The field of view is the whole kingdom; the subject is the machinery in action; the approach is the familiar one: an unsentimental and tough-minded grasp of what politics were about in the Tudor age. Yet there is in me an increasing awareness that a major difference exists in Elton's handling of the material. In *England under the Tudors* (1955) Elton once waved a flag at all those silly enough to suppose that ideas had much utility in explaining the genesis or development of the Reformation in England: "to say that they [the new learning, Lutheran doctrine, and Erasmian ideas] did was to vastly overrate the place of the intellectuals in . . . the revolution that actually took place" (pp. 113–14).

Now, Elton devotes a lot of space and energy to the propaganda campaign controlled by Cromwell and the intellectuals he used in pursuit of policy. The point is not that Elton has suddenly become a partisan of the history of ideas or secretly embraced some new historical faith in which ideas control the "inner logic" of events. He still finds such statements gibberish. And he would doubtless not subscribe to the statements I am about to make, and think myself fully justified in making by a careful reading of *Policy and Police*. But it is a major part of a reviewer's responsibility to say what the real achievement of a book is.

Professor Elton's book strikes me most of all as a major contribution to the study of a revolutionary movement. In studies of such movements, not only modern ones but those of the sixteenth century, scholars have been at pains to point out what is involved in establishing a political revolution: propaganda about the new policies aimed at spreading new motifs of thought and new norms of conduct; police work to safeguard the purity of the new regime; and prosecution to convince doubters of the effectiveness of the revolutionary government. Policy, propaganda, and policy. Professor Elton's new book shows how these became Cromwell's main concerns after 1535, once policy had been shifted. Elton has shown that a policy was imposed without anything like a reign of terror or the fashioning of a despotism. *Policy and Police* is thus a direct continuation of work on the Tudor revolution, but a continuation in which both focus and understanding have shifted. I suppose in the next two decades the critics will have to pour over Elton's text again and again, as they have done (myself included), in pursuit of the "revolution in government." Unencumbered by theories Elton's book has succeeded in posing the largest questions about a society in a state of revolution. In a lucid and compelling style, in the circle of a technique quite old-fashioned, one might even say timeless, Professor Elton has again made me proud of the historian's craft. And, I dare say, he has again reminded us that when we are confronted by a truly magisterial work all differences of method melt away, and we may all say we are Eltonians.

ARTHUR JOSEPH SLAVIN
University of California, Los Angeles

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A. L. ROWSE. *The Elizabethan Renaissance: The Life of the Society*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1971. Pp. xiv, 336. $12.50.

On the title page of this book A. L. Rowse placed this quotation from William Blake: "To generalize is to be an Idiot. To Particularize is the Alone Distinction of Merit." The author meticulously followed Blake's advice, and the result is a most disappointing book, one that can hardly be called history at all. It is, instead, very largely a series of anecdotes culled from Rowse's wide reading in the sources, grouped under such headings as food, sanitation, sex, sport, witchcraft, astrology, the folk calendar, and so on. Some of his discussions are interesting, especially that on sport, which is both unhackneyed and well written; and his warnings against unjustified generalization, supported by occasional horrible examples drawn from works of famous living historians, are worth remembering. These anecdotes comprise the last five chapters of the book. The first four chapters are intended, I suppose, to provide conceptual framework; unfortunately they do not. The first chapter, entitled "Renaissance Impulse," is mostly a list of names of Italian artists, and so on, in England and of Englishmen who went to Italy. The second chapter, on the court, is largely tittle-tattle and personalities; the third, on the gentry, is mostly warmed-over Neale and Jordan; the fourth chapter, on class and social life, means upper class: there is as much on Bess of Hardwick as on all the lower classes put together. Nowhere is there any analysis; the author's well-known prejudices, especially against Puritans, flourish like the green bay tree; and in accordance with Blake's dictum, Rowse vigorously eschews generalization. The difficulty with this is that it is impossible to write significant social history by piling up a heap of particulars because we are never told their meaning. For example, Rowse tells us that every county supplies evidence of the prevalence of child-marriage for property considerations. He then cites half a dozen examples from Cheshire and Lancashire, all from the landed classes. He nowhere tells us that such marriages were very rare outside the landed gentry or mentions the significance of the Court of Wards in connection with child-marriage. In consequence the principal beneficiaries of this work are apt to be professors who are searching for stories to illustrate lectures on Elizabethan social history. Every scholar as prolific as Rowse is bound to write a disappointing book now and then; let us hope his next work will again reach the standard we know he is capable of achieving.

MAURICE LEE, JR.
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

PETER J. FRENCH. *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1972. Pp. x, 243. $12.50.

John Dee was one of the most fascinating and enigmatic of the Elizabethans. Born in 1527 to a Welsh gentleman who served at the court of Henry VIII, he was educated at Cambridge and Louvain and by 1550 was lecturing on Euclid in Paris. In England under Mary, he was accused of practicing sorcery against the queen's life but was acquitted by the Star Chamber. He became court astrologer to Elizabeth, who consulted him when fixing an auspicious date for her coronation and who later visited his home at Mortlake to view his library, the largest in the realm. He traveled to Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland; with the aid of a medium, Edward Kelley, he attempted to interrogate angels about the secrets of the universe; he studied history and geography, deducing Elizabeth's title to North America from the legends of Brutus and Arthur. Naturally enough he was often regarded as a magician. He petitioned James I to hold a formal trial so that his name might be cleared, but James was little interested. Dee died, poor and senile, in 1608.

Peter French's book is not a biography of this Elizabethan magus but rather a series of essays on various aspects of his career. A number of new points are made. French suggests, for instance, that Dee may have believed in heliocentric cosmography, although he never wrote along Copernican lines because he identified God with the sun and did not wish ordinary people to share this confirmation of the revelation. In religion Dee is pictured as a follower of Ficino and Pico, striving to gain new knowledge by harmonizing pre-Christian writings with Christian dogma. He hoped that the resulting enlightenment would end the divisions of the Reformation and usher in a universal religion of love. He was close to Sir

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Philip Sidney, who may have shared these religious views and whose theory of measured poetry may have derived from Dee's interest in "musico-magic." He argued for the introduction of the reformed calendar but was frustrated by the churchmen, who thought it popish. His ideas about experimental science anticipated Francis Bacon's. Perhaps the most learned man of his age, he was a curious blend of the medieval and the modern, the sorcerer and the scientist.

As a book French's study, the revision of a dissertation, has its flaws. Its style is sometimes ponderous, sometimes vague, sometimes too personal. Its arguments are often conjectural: the insights remain unproved and are in some cases unprovable. Throughout, French's approach is tentative. His modest assertion that this is not the definitive study of Dee is, alas, true. But the book is interesting. It suggests directions for further exploration. All in all it is a valuable contribution to Tudor intellectual history.

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG
University of Minnesota—Minneapolis

WILBUR SAMUEL HOWELL. *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 742. $20.00.

C. P. Snow's "two cultures" were happily joined together in the classical tandem of Logic and Rhetoric, but they did not easily stay in harness. The medieval Scholastics put all the stress on Logic; in revenge, Renaissance humanists glorified Rhetoric while disparaging its partner. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scientific movement substantially rejected both. While groping toward a new scientific logic that would combine mathematics with induction, the new savants also demanded a fresh style, clear but plain, that would avoid the types and figures of classical Rhetoric because these seemed designed to distort or conceal the bare truth. From Joseph Glanvill and John Locke to Adam Smith, whom Howell presents here as critic of Rhetoric (the manuscripts of Smith's lectures on this subject were only discovered in 1958), those identified with the scientific outlook aggressively campaigned against the "pompous, grand, and ornate" style (which Howell equates, perhaps questionably, with Ciceronian rhetoric) as much as against the useless circumlocutions of formal Logic. At the same time the irreverent spirit of the age of Voltaire found much to mock in the elaborate formalism of the old tradition. Yet both Logic and Rhetoric were still used and valued during the Enlightenment, with many attempts to reform rather than annihilate them appearing. The classical tradition had begun to break up but had not yet vanished. Today, though we still make unconscious use of its devices built deeply into our language and thought processes, few study these once dominant subjects. Did John F. Kennedy know that he was employing antimetabole in his famous injunction to "Ask not . . ."? When Professor J. H. Hexter writes of the "rhetoric of history," or political ideologists accuse their opponents of using "rhetoric," they reflect a degeneration of the term to mean something like "propaganda." The art of persuasion was not always so meanly regarded. Professor Howell's book is impressive, if far from exhibiting the classical virtue of conciseness. Rhetoric has been popular in literary studies recently because, like myth and genre, it affords a new way of looking at literature. Historians of ideas and of science will find much of interest in this important book by a literary scholar. It is exhaustively descriptive (also extremely well indexed). The book is weakest at relating the rhetoricians and logicians to the larger patterns of literature and intellectual culture, though the author says in his introduction that he wants to see them "within the context of their particular time." Virtually nothing is said, for example, of how this segment relates to the major schools of style and thought, such as baroque, neoclassicism, deism, incipient romanticism. The book tends to see its subject in isolation, not entirely but quite strikingly. At times, too, it seems uncritical in its apparent acceptance of the Enlightenment position (scilicet British empiricism). A mighty influence in his day, John Locke would not now be regarded as a sound guide either on language or on scientific method, surely. But the copious attention given to a wide range of eighteenth-century commentaries makes this book a veritable ency-

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clopedia in a heretofore neglected area. Students of the Enlightenment will find it an indispensable reference work.

ROLAND N. STROMBERG
University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

JAMES O. RICHARDS. *Party Propaganda under Queen Anne.* [Athens:] University of Georgia Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 191. $8.50.

Mr. Richards's main interest, in this reworking of his 1962 Illinois dissertation, is in the electoral propaganda of Anne's reign. Examination of this segment of the larger body of contemporary partisan journalism, he suggests, allows for a clear delineation of Whig and Tory "ideologies" and, further, provides an opportunity for gauging the "influence" of issues upon the five general elections of the reign. This slim volume is a handy and generally sensible summary of the extant printed matter, but how much it adds to our understanding of the political history of the period is, at best, moot. On the one hand, much of the material Mr. Richards cites and discusses has long been familiar to scholars: W. T. Morgan's bibliography provides a careful guide to it; Mary Ransome's essays constitute a useful account of the propaganda of the 1710 election; and G. S. Holmes's *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (1967) includes an incisive summary of the issues and content of partisan politics. On the other hand, the crux of Mr. Richards's thesis is his cautiously worded claim that this outpouring of partisan propaganda did influence the electorate, especially in the larger and more open constituencies (characteristics which, despite his assumption, cannot always be equated with one another). Yet this contention cannot be adequately demonstrated on the basis of the materials that he deploys. In this respect, then, his study suffers by its appearance after W. A. Speck's *Tory and Whig* (1970), which is based primarily on archival evidence (including poll-books) and which does make a rather more convincing case for the impact of party propaganda on election results in Anne's reign.

HENRY HORWITZ
University of Iowa

PEGGY MILLER. *James.* New York: St. Martin's Press. 1971. Pp. 344. $12.95.

CHRISTOPHER SINCLAIR-STEVENSON. *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719.* New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. x, 212. $10.00.

Miss Miller's book is devoted to the life of James Stuart, son of King James II of England and pretender to the English, Scottish, and Irish Crowns from 1701 to 1766. Sinclair-Stevenson's deals with three of the four important efforts to put James Stuart into power, in 1708 by rebellion assisted by France, in 1715 by rebellion, and in 1719 by rebellion assisted by Spain. Sinclair-Stevenson confesses that he offers "little or nothing for . . . the professional historian." Miss Miller does not say, but I would class her book with Sinclair-Stevenson's in that respect.

The Miller book gives close attention to scenes of ceremonial and color. Its analyses of character are superficial and overtrusting. After a confusing opening, its organization is roughly chronological. Two-thirds of the book (214 pages) cover the first 28 years of the pretender's life; the last 31 years are dealt with in about 18 pages. Sinclair-Stevenson shows a taste for and knowledge of Scottish history and military affairs. He gives long passages on the attempts in the series, as one would expect, with a stage setting and transitional sections between them. Both books are illustrated. The indexes of both are unreliable.

One misses here the knowledge to be obtained from the massive studies of eighteenth-century diplomacy in French and German, which would have been helpful in either book. Sinclair-Stevenson and Miller both list the Carte Papers in the Bodleian Library in their bibliographies; Miss Miller also acknowledges use of the Windsor Stuart Papers. Too many of the extracts from manuscripts she reproduces have appeared in earlier secondary works, however, casting doubt on the originality of her research. She is niggardly, indeed, of credit to her predecessors in the field. She gives relatively few source-reference footnotes; Sinclair-Stevenson gives none.

Yet his book inspires more confidence than hers. There are fewer factual and spelling errors. He is surer of the identities of the figures

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in the story and their relations with one another. Miss Miller makes the duke of Shrewsbury into the earl of Middleton's son-in-law, and Lord Drummond into Middleton's son, for examples. Miss Miller also falls into the unusual, even amazing, error of confusing folios with pages in her citations of the Carte Papers.

The inveterate reader of biography would not find enough on most of James Stuart's life to satisfy him; the professional historian would prefer more reliable studies; the undergraduate would be puzzled by unanswered (because unasked) questions in Miller's book. I can recommend Sinclair-Stevenson's one-volume treatment of a popular subject for inclusion in undergraduate reading lists.

GEORGE HILTON JONES
Eastern Illinois University

JAMES O'HIGGINS, S.J. *Anthony Collins: The Man and His Works.* (International Archives of the History of Ideas, Number 35.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1970. Pp. x, 267. 40.50 gls.

This is a careful study of the English deist who was a disciple of John Locke, an influence on Voltaire, and, therefore, though the author acquiesces in the received opinion that Collins had a second-rate mind, a man of first-rate importance. The study makes use of many unpublished primary sources on Collins, notably his extensive correspondence over many years (1710–29) with the Frenchman Pierre Desmaizeaux as well as records of Collins's public service as a justice of the peace. For, paradoxically, Collins was a wealthy squire who, when he was not attacking freedom of the will or the Biblical prophecies and collecting books critical of Christianity, was duly hard on "idle and disorderly" people—a veritable pillar of the political Establishment even as he assailed the ecclesiastical one. A radical in philosophy and theology he was eminently conservative in his social and political views. Father O'Higgins does not always seem sensitive to the political changes of the time, which help explain why Collins was so complacent after his party, the Whigs, became firmly established in power from 1715 on. Nor does the author have much feeling for the special climate of thought that prevailed in these years when the debate about Christianity and reason was so significant. He is more a historian of ideas than an intellectual historian. But Collins, precisely because he was not a highly original thinker, followed closely the fashions in ideas and is perhaps best viewed in this context. (The author knows that Collins had an "awareness of contemporary controversy"; my complaint, a mild one, is that Father O'Higgins's study does not make us very aware of this dialectic of thought.) While Father O'Higgins is less attuned to this wave length than historians might like, he has researched arduously and has plugged a notable gap by giving adequate treatment to a leading member of a group long undeservedly neglected, the early eighteenth-century English deists and critics of Christianity. The chapter on Collins's public service in Essex County, as treasurer as well as justice of the peace, makes some contribution to social history.

ROLAND N. STROMBERG
University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

MARY THALE, edited with an introduction and notes by. *The Autobiography of Francis Place (1771–1854).* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xl, 308. $19.50.

The publication for the first time of Place's autobiography is particularly welcome for its insight into the middle-class world of London shopkeepers. Place was "the radical tailor of Charing Cross" who participated in a wide range of reform activities from the 1790s to the 1840s. But his autobiography contains very little about reform politics and concentrates instead on the rise of the master tailor. Not that Place really changed class, for he is at pains to tell of a boyhood education among the sons of shopkeepers and master craftsmen. However, an improvident marriage for love to a woman without fortune forced him to spend eight years struggling as a journeyman before he managed to become a master. Nonetheless, he became prosperous enough to retire at forty-seven, when he turned the business over to his eldest son. There the autobiography ends, and later personal events—the death of Place's first wife, finding a "companion" whom he later married, loss of much of his capital, his declining health—are described in the appendixes, some in the form of letters to friends or rela-

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tions, others in the form of narrative. Despite the lack of continuous narrative after 1817, the autobiography forms a remarkably effective whole. It is particularly valuable for its detailed insight into the attitudes of the tradesman as well as the relations between a tailor and his fashionable clientele. Also interesting is Place's account of customs and manners that had changed greatly during his lifetime.

Unfortunately Place did not write well, and the editing has compounded the difficulties. Place counted on an editor to prepare the manuscript for publication. His son, however, merely tore out the bits too nasty for mid-Victorian sensitivity and marked other passages for deletion. Major problems remain, for Place punctuated very badly, occasionally spelled inaccurately or made grammatical mistakes, and left some sentences too tangled to make sense. Rather than do a little correcting, the editor has reproduced the manuscript faithfully, so that the book is far more difficult to read than it need have been. Moreover, the editor has added footnotes containing earlier versions of the text and information on words crossed out. Place's autobiography did not need to be treated as a literary masterpiece: this is scholarship run amuck. It would have been much more useful if some of this effort had been spent in examining records that might have further illuminated events Place mentions. The editor, however, does not seem to have gone beyond the confines of the other volumes of the Place collection. Moreover, the introduction is extremely uninformed about the world in which Place lived and is unreflective upon the text it precedes.

Despite the handsome binding, this book is much too expensive. It hastens the day when even the major university libraries will not be able to buy all the scholarly books published in the country. Verily, the publishers are killing the goose.

THOMAS MILTON KEMNITZ
University of New Hampshire

G. J. MARCUS. *The Age of Nelson: The Royal Navy 1793–1815*. New York: Viking Press. 1971. Pp. 532. $10.00.

A single-volume study of the British navy in the age of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars has long been needed, and Geoffrey Marcus has admirably filled this void. He skillfully interweaves all the variegated strands of naval administration, supply, strategy, and tactics—with sufficient general commentary to provide the reader with the maximum of illumination. The merchant marine, shipping insurance, the health of seamen, the dockyards—all receive attention. There are some excellent sketches of leading naval figures, not least a well-deserved tribute to Sir Charles Middleton (later Lord Barham), a key organizer of British sea power. Pitt, too, receives rare credit as a war minister. Of particular value are the chapters on the war against British trade, including some vivid pictures of the escapades of French privateers in the English Channel. Full credit is also given to American raiders in the War of 1812. Marcus dwells with loving detail on all matters pertaining to seamanship and navigational conditions and provides useful guides to Admiralty *Pilots* and charts.

Even with five hundred pages at his disposal the author has been hard put to cover so action-filled an era, yet repeatedly he has provided informative and judicious accounts of most episodes. Admittedly I would have liked a little more attention paid to grand strategy; the controversial reforms of St. Vincent after 1802 are clumsily touched upon; and experiments with rockets and torpedoes are ignored. Interservice cooperation and amphibious operations could have been treated in more depth. Wellington, as usual with naval historians, is attacked for his complaints against the navy during the Peninsular War. In truth this dispute has never been systemically analyzed. The delay in the movement of stores by sea from the Tagus to Santander in the summer of 1813 is ignored, and mention might surely have been made of Wellington's very generous tribute to the navy's role in this great campaign. American readers may also be a little disappointed by the treatment of the War of 1812. Admiral Cochrane's controversial part in the attack on New Orleans is ignored, as are his dreams of redrawing the southern frontiers of the United States. Reginald Horsman's *War of 1812* (1969) is an odd omission from a usually comprehensive bibliography, which makes welcome reference to French, Dutch, Scandinavian, and American sources. Some of the maps

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and illustrations are not worthy of so fascinating a book.

C. J. BARTLETT
University of Dundee

KARL S. BOTTIGHEIMER. *English Money and Irish Land: The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 226. $10.50.

ROBERT C. SIMINGTON. *The Transplantation to Connacht, 1654–58.* (Comisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann.) [Shannon:] Irish University Press for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1970. Pp. xxxi, 306. £10.

D. M. R. ESSON. *The Curse of Cromwell: A History of the Ironside Conquest of Ireland, 1649–53.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1971. Pp. 208. $10.00.

Professor Bottigheimer's book provides a well-balanced account of the Long Parliament's efforts to combine money raising and Protestant colonization with the suppression of Catholic resistance in Ireland. He agrees with Robert Dunlop and Walter Love that the stories circulating in England of Catholic atrocities were exaggerated and inconsistent and that Parliament passed the Adventurers' Act (March 1642) before it had complete evidence on the extent of the Irish rebellion. Nevertheless the act, which Charles I was persuaded to sign, assumed that nearly a fifth of Ireland would be forfeited by rebels. By offering this hypothetical land as surety Parliament attempted to raise money to finance the reconquest of Ireland without burdening the English taxpayer.

A program of conquest and conversion plus eight per cent sounds irresistible, but investors proved reluctant due to the uncertainty of Irish conditions and because Parliament diverted its funds to other purposes and postponed sending troops to Ireland. As the Irish conflict dragged on proposals for confiscations increased yet the determining factor, according to Bottigheimer, was the "fiscal needs of the Long Parliament rather than the culpability of the Irish" (p. 53). Among these needs was that of paying off with a new set of competing land grants the soldiers who fought in Ireland.

The most valuable parts of Bottigheimer's study are chapters 3 and 7. The first contains a statistical analysis of the 2000-odd adventurers, giving their place of residence, occupation, and the size of their investments in the initial and later Irish subscriptions. Chapter 7 provides a breakdown of actual distribution of land to the adventurers. The information on which these two chapters is based is made available to the reader in three appendixes.

In a few instances Bottigheimer fails to make full use of his data. He classifies lawyers as nonurban, although nine of the eleven lawyers listed in appendix A come from London. On the whole, however, he handles his statistics judiciously. Like T. K. Rabb *(Enterprise and Empire* [Cambridge, Mass., 1967]) Bottigheimer finds that the gentry accounted for about a fourth of the investors, though they did not supply that proportion of the capital, much of which came from London. The data given on the adventurers' eventual grants are enlightening but Bottigheimer offers only a general guess as to how many adventurers actually became settlers. Hence the comparative study of colonization of which he speaks in the introduction remains incomplete.

Among the printed sources listed by Bottigheimer is the *Civil Survey* of 1654–56, a ten-volume set that Robert C. Simington began editing over thirty years ago. Simington's latest editorial achievement likewise deals with a topic closely related to Bottigheimer's, the recolonization of those who forfeited their lands to the English adventurers and soldiers. By the Settlement Act of 1652 all who had rebelled since 1641 were divided into categories according to their alleged "delinquency." Those deemed least guilty were to be removed to Connacht and County Clare and there given land equal to an appropriate fraction of their original holdings. The Commonwealth government hoped to force a mass migration of Catholics, but the implementation of the program proved difficult. Many designated for transplanting petitioned for exemption, and the demands of the adventurers and soldiers increased to such an extent that parts of Connacht and Clare were pre-empted for them. To add to this confusion the surviving evidence on land distribution contains inaccuracies and duplications. Checking the sources against each other Simington lists all persons to whom land was decreed and the acreage involved for the four counties of Clare, Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon. He gives the origin of each "transplan-

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ter" and the amount of land reserved for the Church of Ireland and for local Protestants. Although the decrees in themselves do not necessarily prove who settled where, several conclusions can be drawn from this impressive collection. The number of persons transplanted was lower than often estimated, the transplantation resulted mostly in moderate holdings, and approximately a third of the confiscated land in these four counties was granted to residents of those counties.

D. M. R. Esson's book gives a lively account of the Cromwellian conquest and settlement. Despite its lack of footnotes it is clear that Esson has familiarized himself with most of the literature on the subject. Unfortunately he also seems to have absorbed an amazing diversity of polemic interpretations of this confused and controversial period of Irish history. Somewhat like James Anthony Froude he manages to castigate English mistakes while at the same time depicting the Irish in an unfavorable or at least a patronizing light. His main thesis is that Cromwell's policy of English colonization, despite its ruthlessness, was practical and would have been beneficial if consistently followed. Even its partial failure left an invaluable heritage. The "curse of Oliver" became a blessing in disguise. It prepared the way for the later independence movement, and the blood of Cromwell's settlers infused the Irish with character and leadership. Mr. Esson does not dissemble his prejudices. Yet interwoven with them are some valid comments such as his conclusion that the Irish policies of the Commonwealth would have been more successful had they been either more harsh or more generous. As it was, the Irish rebel was reprieved at a price that "purchased his enmity of generations to come."

FRANCIS G. JAMES
Tulane University

ALFRED PLUMMER. *Bronterre: A Political Biography of Bronterre O'Brien, 1804–1864.* [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1971. Pp. 292. $11.50.

James O'Brien was the most perceptive and intellectual of the leaders of the Chartist movement. Educated in the classics and an ardent student of the French Revolution, he was studying law when he bolted from the prospect of administering laws for the privileged and took to the less stable vocation of advocate for the unrepresented. For more than thirty years "Bronterre" devoted himself to democratic reform as a lecturer, an orator, a political activist, and a prolific radical journalist with remarkably original social and economic ideas. He published a popular, abridged translation of Philippe Buonarroti's *Conspiration pour l'égalité dite de Babeuf . . .* (1828) with annotations and implied applications; and Bronterre's concern to vindicate Robespierre was a strange romantic obsession in which one is reminded of Julian Harney's attraction for Marat. It was this scholarly bent that made Bronterre O'Brien the "political schoolmaster of the Age," and if it won him no more general appreciation in his own day than was awarded the Chartists in general, he is here rewarded at last with a thoroughly engaging and appreciative biography.

There is a sad contrast between O'Brien's high level of theoretical discourse and the rudimentary context of his practical political activism. This "whole hog Chartist" did not quite get the satisfaction of seeing the 1867 franchise extension (something less than the primary Chartist demand) and had to find solace in such as the full repeal of the "taxes on knowledge" in the 1850s, the winning of a minimum freedom in the press that Bronterre had fought for in the 1830s. His advanced ideas on state socialism, wage slavery and the labor theory of value, and land nationalization could hardly get a proper hearing in the context of political repression and a barely liberated press.

Much of his best energy, in fact, was drawn off on tactical issues. Plummer clarifies the bases for Bronterre's willingness to seek cooperation with middle-class sympathizers in the late 1840s, but when the author deals with Bronterre's "abandonment of physical force" after 1840, interesting ambiguities are exposed that invite a re-evaluation of the moral force/physical force distinction. If there were no more militant Chartists than those who legally urged armed defense against an impending government crackdown, then Plummer properly places O'Brien among the physical force Chartists in 1839. But Plummer's documentation leads me to believe that Bronterre was never identified clearly enough with the

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physical force risings of the late 1830s to justify acceptance of the verdict of the court of 1840, which sent him to jail as a sponsor of illegal acts. The government was out to get Chartist leaders, and they got Bronterre in the second round. His "abandonment of physical force" was an understandable verbal response to intimidation and a tactic of personal survival: it was more a matter of discretion than principles or method. Here the tactical distinction appears to be fluid and contingent enough to justify a general re-examination of its meaning for the Chartists of the 1840s.

This long-awaited biography is a thorough work of scholarship solidly grounded in O'Brien's writings. The wealth of cognate information alluded to in the text and tucked away in footnotes and in four fascinating appendixes is a clue to a massive and perhaps cold-hearted editing of this book. Conciseness and density are welcomed results, though a related tendency to narrowness is not. A penetrating, but tantalizingly brief final chapter ("Appraisal") puts much of the author's broad insights and analysis in one place. Withal, Plummer has made a most significant contribution to our knowledge of this articulate and farsighted Chartist leader.

JOSEPH C. D'ORONZIO
State University of New York, College at New Paltz

FRANCIS SHEPPARD. *London 1808–1870: The Infernal Wen.* (History of London.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xx, 427. $11.75.

What is urban history? And what does one expect of a volume offering "the history of London from 1808 to 1970"? Because of uncertainties in these respects Mr. Sheppard's volume, in many ways so admirable, is likely to raise some eyebrows and extract some sighs.

No one doubts that urban history can be the total history of an urban community, and profoundly satisfying as such. The whole organic growth of a place, held in focus and made to reveal all its secrets in all its branches (the national context of course included) by an understanding mastermind, can be one of the most exciting as well as informative and revealing of historical enterprises. But the bigger the place the more difficult it must become to tell its total story successfully; and by the time you get to the biggest city in the Western world, a city with more than one-tenth of the population of the richest and most industrial of nations, these difficulties at least are likely to arise: first, every part of the massive moving whole may be difficult to hold in focus and due proportion; second, some of that whole will, because of the peculiar importance to the nation of its biggest and capital city, be already familiar to a good many readers.

It is a fair bet that the parts of Mr. Sheppard's book that will come most as a pleasure and revelation to his historical readers are those closest to the areas of the built environment of whose history he is (as general editor of the LCC's stately Survey of London series) an esteemed specialist and leader. Chapter 3, "The growth of London before the Railways," is the most obvious of these, but the opening and closing chapters ("The People and Government of London" and "Living in Mid-Victorian London") and the chapters on "The Transport Revolution" and "Industry and Commerce" are genially illuminated from the same source. Whether it is the author himself or one of his fine team of colleagues (to whom, as to every other scholar upon whose work he has called, he scrupulously and self-effacingly acknowledges his debts) who is primarily responsible for this light is immaterial. The result is uniformly helpful and the story, thus far sensibly compartmented and built from the freshest of bricks, comes up clear and cool. So does the story of "London's Radical Politics," in chapter 9, reflecting, like parts of chapter 1, the studies Mr. Sheppard himself pioneered in his book on local government in Marylebone. But once beyond this particular side of politics and all the Survey of London's specialties in the history and use of sites, the development of estates, and so on, what he has to say is not only more derivative (nothing wrong with that) but also more likely to be already familiar. Just what is already familiar will of course vary according to the special interests and equipment of each reader. To me, but an indifferent economic historian, chapter 2 ("The London Money Market") was remarkably helpful; it might presumably seem old hat to those better versed in economic history, who might themselves receive impressions of novelty

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and revelation from the chapter on "Church, School and State," which I found rather old-fashioned and relatively perfunctory. The "Public Health" chapter is a handsome bit of digestion and presentation, but one suspects that—such has long been the special importance allowed to this topic in general English social and administrative history—that story is already tolerably well known.

Did Mr. Sheppard have to take us along these more familiar paths as well as the ones we could not traverse without him? As general editor of this series, envisaging it apparently as a venture in total metropolitan history, he has decided to do so. His book may thus make more of an impression on the wider, subscholarly public, which is a good thing in its way, because scholarship as refined and attractive as his is bound to rub off. But the author will have paid a price for that measure of popularity, the price of somewhat disappointed readers who look to the urban historian especially for what they cannot easily get from anyone else: the story of how and why the land became built on in the way it did.

GEOFFREY BEST
University of Edinburgh

J. C. REID. *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England.* Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1971. Pp. xiii, 253. $9.25.

Pierce Egan, whose active career spanned almost exactly the years of the Regency and the reign of George IV, was one of the most popular writers of his day. He was the outstanding sporting journalist of his time—he may, in fact, be said to have originated the profession—but he did not confine himself to sport. His crime and trial reports influenced later crime writing, he edited an important dictionary of slang, and he wrote two novels, *Life in London* (1821) and its sequel, that gave rise to countless imitations and influenced the young Dickens.

It is the insight into the life of an important literary hack that is the greatest strength of this first full-length study of Egan's work, for it illustrates the activities of the not-always-respectable people who turned out the popular literature of the period. Professor Reid, who teaches English at Auckland University, also attempts to portray Egan as a major influence on Dickens, and in this he is less successful. Though both writers grew out of the same tradition of popular literature and Dickens was undoubtedly influenced by Egan's work, Professor Reid's contention that Dickens borrowed heavily from Egan is not sufficiently demonstrated.

Of greater interest to the social historian are the world that Egan portrayed and the reasons why boxing, his special interest, enjoyed the remarkable popularity and importance that it did. Though Professor Reid does suggest some of these, I would have welcomed far more elaboration on the way in which sport in general and boxing in particular played such an important role in the life of the people. Many boxers, for example, used their careers as stepping stones to greater respectability, and one of them, John Gully, became a member of Parliament.

Nevertheless, this book does give us a tantalizing glimpse of extremely rich segments of Regency society. It is to be hoped that others will show us even more.

DAVID C. ITZKOWITZ
Queensborough Community College, City University of New York

A. TEMPLE PATTERSON. *A History of Southampton, 1700–1914.* Volume 2, *The Beginnings of Modern Southampton, 1836–1867.* (Southampton Records Series, Volume 14.) Southampton: University Press. 1971. Pp. 189. £3.23.

In his preface to the present book Professor Patterson tells us that he originally intended to write the modern history of his adopted city of Southampton in two volumes only, divided at 1836. But when he began work on the second half of the story Patterson found so much interesting and important material to discuss that he decided to devote a whole volume to the period from 1836 to 1867 and to finish the work with a third volume, which is to follow.

The quality and interest of this second volume amply justify Patterson's decision. Drawing on a wide variety of local sources, he provides a thoughtful and well-written account of the political, social, economic, and religious life of Southampton from the advent of representative local government to the passage of the Second Reform Act.

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Though Patterson disarmingly describes himself as "a Sotonian writing first and foremost for Sotonians," his book has substantial value and interest for any student of nineteenth-century Britain. Patterson always keeps the larger context in mind: he not only traces local developments, but he also discusses the ways in which they were, or were not, typical of what was happening in the country as a whole. He is particularly successful in describing the complex intertwining of local and national political issues and personal and party considerations in the struggles for the control of the municipal government and the city's two seats in Parliament. There is a good account, too, of the widespread and often blatant corruption that characterized Southampton's elections even after the reform of the parliamentary franchise in 1832. In an interesting chapter subtitled "Cholera Kills the Boards" Patterson explains how the nationwide cholera epidemic of 1848–49 and the Public Health Act of 1848 brought about a fundamental restructuring of Southampton's municipal government, which had proved to be too decentralized to take decisive action in the face of an emergency.

Let me conclude by saying of this volume as I did of the first (*AHR*, 73 [1967–68]: 137) that as a local history it is a model of its kind. Though no Sotonian, I look forward eagerly to Patterson's third volume.

THOMAS W. PERRY
Boston College

THEO ARONSON. *Queen Victoria and the Bonapartes.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1972. Pp. ix, 260. $8.95.

ROGER FULFORD, editor. *Your Dear Letter: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865–1871.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1971. Pp. xix, 346. $10.00.

J. A. THOMPSON and ARTHUR MEJIA, JR. *The Modern British Monarchy.* New York: St. Martin's Press. 1971. Pp. v, 120. Cloth $5.95, paper $3.95.

Theo Aronson's *Queen Victoria and the Bonapartes* is an interesting and agreeable book about the friendship of the English royal family and Napoleon III, the Empress Eugenie, and the prince imperial. It is based mainly upon published and familiar sources.

The eighteen chapters are divided into four parts. The first part ("These Great Meetings of Sovereigns") describes the increasingly cordial relations between the English and French courts. As in Aronson's earlier books about European royal families in the nineteenth century, there are brightly colored passages that may cause the sober historian to pause and wonder. "We read that Queen Victoria "might even have heard the rumour" that Eugenie had been fathered by the "urbane" Lord Clarendon, England's ambassador to Madrid in the 1830s (p. 15). We also read that the young Queen Victoria found the "notorious" and "dark, handsome, sensuous-looking" Duke Charles of Brunswick a "wildly attractive" man (p. 25).

The second part of *Queen Victoria and the Bonapartes* ("The Sinister Designs of Our Neighbour") describes the "disenchantment" of Victoria with Napoleon III as he moved through the years from the Orsini bomb plot to his Italian adventures. After Napoleon's victories at Magenta and Solferino Victoria feared that Prussia might be his next victim. The relations between the English and French courts grew cool.

The third and fourth parts of Aronson's book ("This Time of Terrible Trial" and "My Dear Sister, the Empress") will please readers who like dramatic language and episodes. The best chapters are those about the death of the prince imperial (pp. 160–85) and the relations of Victoria and Eugenie (pp. 199–209, 224–34).

Roger Fulford's *Your Dear Letter* is a remarkably well-chosen selection from the private, frank, and truthful correspondence between Queen Victoria and her eldest daughter Victoria, princess royal of England and crown princess of Prussia. It is a fitting companion to Fulford's *Dearest Child* (1963) and *Dearest Mama* (1968).

The energetic, strong, interfering, and tactless crown princess, a homesick English lady in an alien land, has much to write about in the eventful years between 1865 and 1871: the relentless enmity of Bismarck, "the uncontrolled power of an unprincipled man" (p. 60) whose spies were everywhere; the attempts of the crown princess to advance the cause of liberalism in quite illiberal Prussia; her hopes for a united Germany; the bickerings, rivalries, ten-

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sions, foibles, scandals, and prejudices in the court and country; the dreams of the day when her husband Frederick would be emperor, and she would rule by his side in an increasingly liberal Germany. Meanwhile the Emperor William I lived on and on, and when he was ninety years old Frederick got cancer of the throat. Under Frederick's son William II there was to be no liberal Germany.

From England came the "fidgety" letters of Queen Victoria, distressed about the strain placed upon family relationships by international rivalries and the Austro-Prussian conflict, indignant at the undutiful acts and attitudes of some of her children, wondering why the crown princess did not praise the queen's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*. There are paragraphs condemning the reactionary Vatican and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The queen writes in italics about her dislike of Mr. Gladstone. She writes about the scandalous conduct of Lord Byron, royal visits, funerals and marriages, storms in the royal family. No reader will find this book boring.

In *The Modern British Monarchy* J. A. Thompson and Arthur Mejia, Jr. trace the growth of the Brtish monarchy from the age of Queen Victoria to the present. There are five chapters ("The Victorian Monarchy," "The Edwardian Monarchy," "The Georgian Synthesis/the Emergence of the Modern Monarchy," "The Contemporary Monarchy," and "The Monarchy and Its Future"). There are five appendixes (Ernest Jones's "The Psychology of Constitutional Monarchy," Herbert H. Asquith's "The Constitutional Position of the Sovereign", a list of British monarchs from Victoria to Elizabeth II, another list of British monarchs and their prime ministers, and a table of the royal families of Europe). Of special interest and value are the description and explanations of the manner in which the British monarchy has adapted itself to the changes and pressures of the modern world. There are very good passages on the mystique of modern kingship and the continuing ability of an apparently anachronistic institution to play a remarkable and vital role in modern Britain. This is a carefully written and useful book.

GOLDWIN SMITH
Wayne State University

GEOFFREY BEST. *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851–1875*. New York: Schocken Books. 1972. Pp. xvii, 316. $10.50.

This book offers a commentary on the questions of "what it would have felt like to be alive about 1850 and how different it would have felt about a generation later." Geoffrey Best produces evidence about the economic and physical environment, work and unemployment, incomes and poverty, leisure, religion, and interaction of social classes. He has new insights and information about all these areas, but his essays on the adoration of work, middle- and lower-middle-class incomes, and religion are especially important. He uses J. A. Banks's figures from *Prosperity and Parenthood* (1954) and his own calculations to make the received notions of general mid-Victorian prosperity a little more precise and more open to further investigation. Best suggests that "all levels of taxable income were increasing at a rate more rapid than that of the general population as a whole; but the middle and lower middle class incomes were increasing fastest of all." The difficulties in estimating incomes and improvements in life chances among the lower classes are, Best argues, even greater than recent historians have allowed. He draws effortlessly on vast resources of fiction, official statistics, biography, and local topography in order to emphasize differences between groups of workers and individual families and the fragility of apparent improvements in their incomes and ways of life. He persuasively concludes that "uninterrupted progress in some trades (e.g. engineering) was quite compatible with ups and downs in many and with real deterioration in others" and adds that "an aggregate betterment among a swelling number of workers was not incompatible with a worsening of the situation of an actually increasing number." The chapter on religion has the same blend of statistical information and fresh illustration from literary and biographical sources. Best expertly reviews the recent studies of the 1851 census, and he makes several original points about the relations between denominationalism and the social order.

The final section on the class structure is very compact, and some of the more provocative assertions need fuller exposition. The splendid quotation from Wilkie Collins about

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recently acquired respectability raises questions about personal status that Best passes over. One wishes, too, that he had left himself space to enlarge his comments on status within the family. His emphasis on respectability as an emollient between the classes also starts lots of ideas. His general conclusion that "respectability . . . was in the main an embracing of the established of the social order" undoubtedly stands. But many lower-middle-class and working-class dissidents who resented the exclusive hierarchy were also highly respectable and self-esteeming men and women, Chartists, critics of the management of the Crimean War, Reform Leaguers, and antivaccinationists, for instance, whose hard-won respectability helped them imagine a better place for themselves in a partially leveled social system and nerved them when they denounced the existing order.

Best describes his work as a "range-finding salvo." Gone are the confident displays of "causes," "outcomes," and self-answering questions that filled the textbooks of even less than a decade ago. This new history, tentatively argued, companionably curious, and enormously broadened in scope to incorporate women and children and families and felons of all social ranks, shows the impact of sociological ideas and the rush of discovery in Victorian history during the last twenty years. Best's enterprise is an agenda for inquiry (with possible negative results at some points), and that fact, if well understood, makes it more worthwhile for a student than a dozen cosy, cautious textbooks. Bright students will welcome admissions by an eminent authority that he often does not know the answers to his questions, and they and their teachers will welcome even more his brilliant speculations about further inquiries and the materials that might supply evidence.

F. B. SMITH
Australian National University

ASA BRIGGS and JOHN SAVILLE, editors. *Essays in Labour History, 1886–1923*. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1971. Pp. vii, 360. $13.00.

The previous volume of *Essays in Labour History* appeared in 1960. It came out just as labor history was emerging as a branch of historical investigation distinct from economic history. Indeed, the Society for the Study of Labour History and its influential bulletin were founded in that year. The first collection, intended to be presented to G. D. H. Cole upon his seventieth birthday, quickly established for itself a place as a minor classic, as a statement of the frequently forgotten fact that history is, first of all, the story of people and that the most important act for most people is earning a living. It dealt, as does the present volume, not with the economic organization or development of society, but with the popular response to capitalism, to the means by which working men and women sought to defend themselves through economic or political organization, against the pressures put upon them as factors in industrial production.

Like any cooperative work, where the contributors have license to pursue their several scholarly inclinations, the present volume is uneven and hard to evaluate. The essays vary from highly professional, heavily footnoted monographs, such as J. E. Williams's study of the Leeds Corporation strike in 1914 to chatty reminiscences like Margaret Cole's contribution on guild socialism and the Labour Research Department, which is in many ways a memoir of her husband. The revival of interest in the really unknown, and perhaps unknowable, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald is illustrated by C. L. Mowat's survey of his early activities as a Labour politician up to his resumption of party leadership in 1922. For me the late Professor Mowat's essay was the most interesting one in the book.

The standard of scholarship is high, as one would expect. Perhaps only James Hintern's story of the Clyde Worker's Committee (CWC) in the dilution struggle during the First World War needs comment. Hintern roundly condemns the Ministry of Munitions for guile, if not duplicity, in breaking the resistance of the CWC to the dilution of skilled men by women for the production of arms during World War I. He suggests, not quite directly, that William Beveridge was the civil servant responsible for the tactics used or at least for covering up the evidence after the deed was done. This may be true; Beveridge was quite capable of it. The difficulty is that Beveridge in his own autobiography, *Power and Influence* (1955), spends a number of paragraphs on the dilution struggle and, while not precisely contradicting the facts

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of the author, presents a number of details that do not coincide with the present account. This is not to suggest that Beveridge is right and Hintern wrong. There are a number of other mistakes in *Power and Influence,* but scholarship at this level, particularly on a man like Beveridge whose place in history changes almost daily, should have taken the trouble to deal with the assertions of the person attacked. Similarly one could wish that in Frank Matthews's long essay on the building guilds after World War I—in fact the last third of the book is concerned with guild socialism—the author had compressed somewhat his discussion of the controversies that disrupted the internal life of this most important experiment in the control by workers. He might have described in a little more detail precisely how the building guilds functioned. Why, with a sympathetic minister of health in Christopher Addison and a guaranteed market and assured financing above the proceeds of a penny-rate, could not the guilds build houses? The only bid quoted shows the cost of guild houses to be about ten per cent above the price of private contractor's houses.

In summary these essays, while not definitive history in themselves, are important because they summarize and document a small but significant area of the huge topic of twentieth-century labor history. They are in effect building blocks with which future historians will have to construct their own syntheses. If the history of the people is to be written at all, unquestionably it has to be done this way, broken up into small bits and examined meticulously by skilled researchers, square inch by square inch. Then it must be put back together again. Whether there exist men of sufficient largeness of mind, sympathy, expository skill, and above all, industry, finally to write it, is another question.

BENTLEY B. GILBERT
University of Illinois, Chicago

ANDREW J. PIERRE. *Nuclear Politics: The British Experience with an Independent Strategic Force, 1939–1970.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. xiii, 378. $18.75.

Mr. Pierre has written a work of the greatest importance for understanding the circumstances in which Britain became and remained a nuclear power. He deals with the whole period from the original decision to begin an atom bomb project to the dilemma that faces Britain in the early 1970s when new developments in the nuclear armory of the super-powers again call into question the efficacy of Britain's "deterrent." Although Mr. Pierre is clearly familiar with the technological and financial aspects of the question and with the strategic theories involved in decisions about the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons-systems, his main interest lies in the politics of the question. He is very convincing in his analysis of the impact of Britain's possession of nuclear weapons upon Anglo-French as well as Anglo-American relations and of the way in which party controversies impinged upon British decisions in the field.

In the course of his narrative he demolishes some widespread beliefs about a number of the key issues of the period. He shows, for instance, that it is wrong to regard the McMahon Act of August 1946 as suddenly putting an end to a hitherto unclouded story of Anglo-American collaboration in the nuclear field. He does much to clear up the vexed question of the circumstances in which the postwar decision to manufacture a British bomb was made. He demonstrates that the famous Sandys Defence White Paper of 1957 did not introduce a new strategy of deterrence but was a logical continuation of policies already set by previous decisions. His examination of the Multilateral Nuclear Force project makes one wonder more than ever how anyone in the United States administration could have believed in the possibility of its being accepted.

One admires Mr. Pierre's perceptiveness where British politics are concerned; his two years at the Embassy in London were clearly put to excellent use. On only two points could one perhaps fault him. There is no evidence that the Soviet nuclear threat was an element in the British decision to abandon the Suez expedition. When dealing with the Labour Government's decision not to abandon work on the Polaris submarines he refers to the question of employment and says that "even communist-dominated unions did not want work on the submarines brought to a halt." Which British unions were "communist-dominated" in 1964?

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What emerges is above all the lack of clarity in the political reasoning that led Britain to persist with a weapons system appropriate to a great power when she had ceased to be one. The reasons for doing so were basically the feeling that this was the way to secure influence in Washington; illogical though this sounds, it may have been right.

MAX BELOFF
All Souls College, Oxford

MICHEL GALLET. *Stately Mansions: Eighteenth Century Paris Architecture*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1972. Pp. xiv, 196, 177 plates. $25.00.

This book will appeal to some readers, but it will undoubtedly irritate quite a number of others. *Stately Mansions* will appeal to those who today are belatedly trying to preserve parts of the world's great, old cities. Michel Gallet argues that only recently has there been much interest in eighteenth-century Parisian buildings, a sizable portion of which were torn down during the "urban renewal" of Baron Haussmann. To compound the problems of preservation in a country as rich in tradition as France, the eighteenth century has often been regarded as modern; that is, eighteenth-century buildings in Paris have seemed so commonplace that no special note was taken of any but the most spectacular. *Stately Mansions* will also appeal, although for different reasons, to art historians, urban historians, those interested in the eighteenth century in general, and traditionalists who long for the preindustrial era when the aristocracy had the appearance, if not always the reality, of an exalted social and economic stature and was visibly separated from the "lower orders."

In the introduction Gallet promises the reader that by consulting a wide range of documents—tax records, deeds of succession, building authorizations, notorial documents—the author will be able to introduce us "both to the princely residence and to the dwellings of ordinary people" (pp. xiii–xiv). But either from personal preference (Gallet is assistant curator of the Musée Carnavalet, Paris) or because his sources compelled him, he has dealt primarily with the "princely residence." The subtopic of "the middle class" is treated in only twenty-five lines in the chapter on "the connoisseur"; there is another brief chapter devoted to the middle-class home. A more balanced presentation might also have included an extended discussion of labor in the chapter on building. In partial extenuation, it is true, as Gallet says, that those persons who had "made it," or who wanted others to think that they had, often copied the style of the aristocracy. Thus, financiers, artists, literary figures, and even a few architects had houses that appeared "among the most elegant of the century" (p. 104).

Gallet's brief bibliography lists sources in chronological order of their publication rather than alphabetically, while such a well-known source as the works of the Marquis d'Argenson, whom Gallet quotes several times in the text, is missing. There are no notes, even for quotations, and this, combined with the abbreviated bibliography, presents a serious drawback for scholars whose interest is broader than eighteenth-century Parisian architecture.

Stately Mansions includes 177 illustrations at the end of the text as well as many drawings of Parisian buildings within the text, all by the author. Another useful feature is the author's "register of architects," a fifty-page list of eighteenth-century Parisian architects, including such biographical data as vital statistics, profession, domicile, major literary and architectural works, and, where possible, bibliographical references to the architect. All of the famous figures, as well as a number of minor ones, are included, although, as one might expect, Gallet has often been unable to tell us much about the latter.

Gallet is strongest when discussing the evolution of artistic style or changes in interior and exterior design; particularly outstanding is his description of an eighteenth-century evolution in attitude toward the whole question of comfort in the home, as "desire for physical well-being became apparent in the home and its furnishings" (p. 109).

The social or economic historian may come away from *Stately Mansions* disappointed or he may take the view that Gallet has given us a fascinating look at the architects and architectural achievements of eighteenth-century Paris, although such artistic efforts are only one part

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of the development of Parisian society at the time.

THOMAS F. SHEPPARD
College of William and Mary

ROBERT FORSTER. *The House of Saulx-Tavanes: Versailles and Burgundy, 1700–1830.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1971. Pp. x, 277. $15.00.

This is a superb book, a model of its kind, in which close examination of a single noble family from the time of Louis XIV to the Restoration gives a clear picture of what the Revolution really meant. It is made possible by the preservation at the departmental archives at Dijon of a mass of family papers, estate accounts, and ordinary household bills. Thanks to the author's skill, by which relevancy, thoroughness, and brevity are happily combined, we live vicariously with four or five generations of the house of Saulx-Tavanes. Professor Forster makes no claim of "statistical typicality" for the family, though he presents quantitative data in abundance. He does think that it had a "plausible typicality," in that the family itself, and the milieu of estate agents, tenants, lawyers, creditors, courtiers, and marriage connections in which it worked, reveal a reality beyond the specific case.

The findings on the whole support the standard or once-standard view. That is, at least for the house of Saulx-Tavanes, the nobility really were domesticated by Louis XIV. From having once been independent Burgundian magnates they moved into the expensive and fashionable life of Paris and Versailles. With an income approaching 100,000 livres a year they saved nothing and made no significant investment to improve their lands. Their money went for items of luxury and display. There really was a seigneurial reaction on their Burgundian estates, where they not only kept raising their dues and rents but obtained the creation of a new duchy, in which ducal officers took over some of the jurisidction of the royal courts. There really was, also, a peasant revolution of 1789. Not that there was much violence in this case. Significantly, in 1790 and 1791, it was by using the apparatus of the new constitution, through the new organs of local government, elective office, law courts, and tax procedures, that small-holders, tenants, local lawyers, and business agents on the duke's estates were able to refuse payments, deny his authority, and dispute his claims. Since the duke emigrated, his estates were confiscated; almost all were sold, mainly to owner-farmers and a few townspeople. Compensated to some extent in the 1820s by receipt of government bonds, the once brilliant house of Saulx-Tavanes sank into the obscurity of provincial *rentiers* or coupon clippers. One might say, to satisfy the Marxists, though Mr. Forster does not do so, that in passing from Burgundy to Versailles and back to Burgundy, and while remaining aristocratic, they had made the whole passage from feudal to bourgeois society.

R. R. PALMER
Yale University

ALAN B. SPITZER. *Old Hatreds and Young Hopes: The French Carbonari against the Bourbon Restoration.* (Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 63.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. 334. $12.50.

Professor Spitzer has produced an important book on the French *Carbonari* in which he begins with the statement that "no one has unearthed one absolutely definitive document on the leadership and purpose of the *Carbonari*" (p. 10). Yet he has written a work based on a wide variety of manuscript and printed sources that may incorporate about all that we will ever know about this secret society. In great detail the author discusses the *Carbonari*'s many facets: its role in Restoration politics and its legacy; its origin, organization, and the social classes that constituted its membership; its objectives and justification of its methods and program; its battles with the police and the courts and the reasons for its failure; and its relationship to other French secret societies and its links with revolutionary societies abroad, particularly in the German and Italian states and Spain.

As to the *Carbonari*'s origin and organization, many questions remain unanswered, but Spitzer seems to have explored about every possibility. Most likely the *Carbonari*'s structure was pyramidal (Italian) in form with a *vente suprême* in Paris and tentacles spreading out across France (particularly in the east and west) in the form of *haute ventes, ventes cen-*

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trales, and *ventes particulières.* In an appendix the author lists 244 "presumed" members, out of a total membership of perhaps 50,000 in early 1822, but explains that "my list of 244 is supported only by my intuition" (p. 281). To many contemporary observers the *Carbonari* appeared to be a bourgeois-military plot to overthrow the Bourbons: Spitzer's analysis of social classes involved in the conspiracy indicates that military men (some Bonapartists) in one category or another constituted 40.5 per cent of the presumed membership; the bourgeois (members of the Chamber of Deputies, lawyers, journalists, and businessmen), 35.7 per cent; students, 11.2 per cent; workers, 9.7 per cent; and nobles, 2.6 per cent. The nobility played a more important role than its numbers might indicate, and a number of peasants and artisans were accused and brought to trial. Without the cooperation of important military units any plot against the regime was doomed to failure.

The swing to the right in French politics after the assassination of the Duc de Berry in February 1820 brought in its wake the Law of the Double Vote and other legislation that enemies of the Bourbons insisted violated the charter of 1814, broke the social contract, and justified their exercise of the right of revolution. By the summer of 1820, an amalgam of Republicans, Bonapartists, and pre-Orleanists had hardened into a revolutionary conspiracy, the immediate objective of which was the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. Bonapartists and Republicans agreed only on political methods: at the core of the *Carbonari* were young idealists who were willing to risk their lives for principles such as equality before the law, freedom of the press, election of officers of the national guard, and sovereignty of the people. Members of the organization fired wildly more than once in their attacks on the Bourbon regime, but their activities brought organized opposition to the government into focus, combining myth and reality to create a legend that contributed to the overthrow of Charles X in 1830 and nourished the French republican tradition down to this day.

Liberals such as the Marquis de Lafayette, Jacques Manuel, Voyer d'Argenson, Dupont de L'Eure, Armand Carrel, Victor Cousin, and perhaps Benjamin Constant, were deeply involved in the conspiracy and encouraged the younger men without themselves really sharing the risks assumed by the militants. Spitzer points out that "what persisted in France was a revolutionary ideal which justified direct illegal action in the name of principles higher than the legal order" (p. 195). He notes that the movement failed because it used "inadequate and self-limiting measures for attaining vast and ill defined goals" (p. 293).

The author provides an excellent description of how the French judicial system operated during the Restoration. In a chapter entitled "Political Justice," which he defines as legal procedures used for political ends, he indicates that royalist officials talked much about national and international cabals but lacked "precise evidence of individual criminal acts" (p. 147). The royalist minister of justice functioned both as "the chief of the bureau that apprehended criminals and as head of the judiciary which tried them" (p. 149). Royalist judges acted not as umpires but as instruments of the regime. The relationship between the prefect and the judicial and political police on the one hand and the role of the prefect and presiding judges in selecting "safe" juries on the other is accurately described. Yet there was freedom of speech and press (the censorship of the press to prevent the "abuse" of freedom during the Restoration era was an on and off affair that was never really effective) and enough respect for due process that public opinion was a restraining influence on royalist officials in the highly charged political atmosphere of the early 1820s. The courts, however, had broken the back of the conspiracy by the fall of 1822.

In the first of what Spitzer describes as the three major *Carbonari* trials (at Colmar in July 1822), no one was convicted of a plot or complicity in a plot to overthrow the Bourbons. A month later, at Poitiers, it was a different story. General Berton and his associates were convicted of leading the only open insurrection of the French *Carbonari,* and, after what the author describes as the most political of the trials, the general and two others were executed, thirty received prison sentences, and two were acquitted. The legendary Four Sergeants of La Rochelle were brought to Paris for trial in August 1822, charged with plotting to overthrow the government. They were convicted and died on the scaffold. Generally, the attempts of royalist officials to implicate Liberals in the Cham-

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ber of Deputies and other notables, who, at times, probably were the prime movers of the organization, miscarried for lack of hard evidence. (Some of the Liberals turned out to be more Orleanist than Republican.)

Between 1820 and 1823 only ten members of the *Carbonari* were executed, and those who received prison sentences must be numbered in the dozens. Spitzer's use of the term "political justice" to describe the proceedings at the trials is justified. Yet one might add that with all their limitations, judicial procedures in France during the 1820s, when considered as a whole and within the context of the times, seem superior to those of other European states and better than France had enjoyed during much of her history since 1789. Basically, it was the rule of law rather than the rule of men, and, a few years later, during the reign of Charles X, royalist judges and royalist juries rarely hesitated to make decisions and render verdicts that infuriated the king and his ministers. The Liberals and others used the Chamber of Deputies, the Chamber of Peers, and the press to voice their criticisms and effectively undermine the Bourbon regime.

Spitzer has produced a well-written book that must be considered a definitive treatment of a most difficult subject. His bibliography includes a very comprehensive list of printed materials that provides a basic reference for any new study of French and European secret societies of this era. The author has used police and other records with caution, and I, who have examined reports of the police and prefects during the Restoration period, agree with Spitzer that they constitute an invaluable archival source for his study. Indeed, these reports are often surprisingly candid and objective. Spitzer asks the right questions and comes up with plausible and carefully qualified answers in this first work in English on the French *Carbonari* and the best account of this secret society's activities in any language.

VINCENT W. BEACH
University of Colorado, Boulder

HARRY W. PAUL. *The Sorcerer's Apprentice: The French Scientist's Image of German Science, 1840–1919.* (University of Florida Social Sciences Monograph, Number 44.) Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1972. Pp. vii, 86. $2.00.

This brief and vigorously written study samples the views of some French scientists about various scholarly and academic issues that troubled them during the period indicated. The author uses reports of faculty meetings and articles by and about French scientists to document their attitudes on matters such as national prestige in science, competition for foreign students, pure versus applied science, and, especially, German science. The most significant conclusion reached is that some French scientists vigorously urged the expansion and development of scientific research in their country long before the crisis of 1914–18. The author's suggestion that they had some success deserves thorough study. Over half the book consists of a summary of a 1916 propaganda publication by French scientists criticizing their German colleagues, together with an explication of two articles by Pierre Duhem contrasting national styles of scientific research.

The book seems to have lacked a strong editorial hand. The author does not clearly state what he is trying to show, nor does he point out a movement or development of opinion. The lack of unity among the various subjects discussed suggests that this material might better have appeared as separate articles. Paul chooses to quote his scientists very frequently and extensively, almost on every page, and he has not translated their remarks, both unwise decisions. He fails to sum up his findings along the way, and he rarely provides transitions between different subjects. There is no index or bibliography, although the footnotes provide useful bibliographical information.

JAMES M. LAUX
University of Cincinnati

ROGER L. WILLIAMS. *The Mortal Napoleon III.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1971. Pp. 226. $8.50.

In this "biographical study," Williams destroys myths and historical rumors: Napoleon III did not have a venereal disease; he was not a great womanizer; and no illness adversely affected political decisions. Williams also illumines several historical shadows surrounding the emperor: he liberalized the empire to assure his young son an easy succession; he suffered from many painful ailments, but the most serious was a neurosis stemming from the empress's

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frigidity; he died, not from a bladder stone, but from kidney failure, euremic poisoning, and septicemic shock.

It is appropriate that on the eve of the centennial of his death, Napoleon III's health be thoroughly studied because historiographically it has been held responsible for his government's defects and his own unwise decisions in foreign affairs. Citing contemporary English and French medical records, Williams tests these against modern medical and psychiatric treatises. The result is a balanced and exhaustive "essay in probability," affording a complete evaluation of the emperor's medical facts and the best available insight into Napoleon III as a man.

An overview of the "imperial patient"—from rheumatism and hemorrhoids to mental depressions and sexual impotency—combined with an examination of mid-nineteenth-century medical knowledge, practice, and organization lead Williams to conclude that "good health would have been no guarantee of freedom from error, given particular factors that determined . . . particular decisions" (p. 192). The whole picture of Napoleon III, physiological and psychological, indicated to Williams only one area of medical influence on politics. Empress Eugénie's frigidity, alienating the couple, led to her own "independent political course," especially in dealing with Austria, and proved fatal to the Second Empire during the early weeks of the Franco-Prussian War. But the documentation, otherwise so brilliantly effective, fails Williams here. Nevertheless, his benevolent, kind Napoleon III, apparent in Williams's previous writings, emerges even more convincingly from these well-researched and well-written pages. A final word: one should keep handy a medical dictionary as one reads this unusual biographical study.

WARREN F. SPENCER
University of Georgia

AMÉRICO CASTRO. *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*. Translated by WILLARD F. KING and SELMA MARGARETTEN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 628. $15.00.

With the publication in 1948 of *España en su historia* Professor Castro first offered the learned world his profoundly original interpretation of the Spanish historical consciousness as having been fashioned by nine hundred years of forced coexistence among three religious "castes": the Christians, the Muslims, and the Jews. Since then, with the unflagging energy of a great thinker and an enthusiastic polemicist, he has been constantly expanding and revising his interpretation. His successive books in Spanish and English have the fascination of an unfinished work of art in which much is experimental and some parts are unclear, but in which the main ideas keep reappearing in a variety of contexts and are applied consistently to a wide variety of examples. He starts from the fundamental premise that every identifiable people inhabits a *morada vital,* a vital dwelling place, within which it reacts to material circumstances. In the formation of that vital dwelling place, at least for the Spaniards, religion and a concept of the ego as simultaneously absorbing and combating the external world play a much more important role than do geography or the "modes of production" in a Marxist sense. Furthermore, the long centuries of religious struggle created a species of moral anguish along with much bitterness, humor, and intellectual disguise. The Spaniard felt obliged, in Castro's phrase, to *vivir desviviéndose,* to affirm and reject his existential self simultaneously. And the Spaniard's preoccupation with his sense of being rather than of doing frequently meant that he acted as a great soldier or administrator but not as an agent of material progress. Moreover, Spanish history has not been a "success story" like that of the Anglo-Saxon countries, and it cannot be made intelligible in terms of modern "progress" and "rationalism."

Applying these premises to Spain, his fundamental theme is that before the thirteenth century there were no "Spaniards." There had been Celtiberians, Hispano-Romans, and Visigoths. Between 711 and ca. 1200 there had been a sophisticated caste society under Muslim rule in al-Andalus, and there had been small agricultural and warlike societies in the north that called themselves Christian. But the manner of reacting to life that should properly be called Spanish did not take shape until the thirteenth-century Reconquest, which resulted in Christian political supremacy. From about 1250 to 1600 "the authentic Spain . . . was di-

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vided into three castes, three beliefs, into three antagonistic ambitions, in a long series of ruptures and accords" (p. 204). These castes were religious, not racial, in origin, and they developed an increasing occupational differentiation. Generally speaking, Christians were soldiers, administrators, priests, and free farmers; Muslims were artisans, small merchants, and tenant farmers; Jews were doctors, diplomats, financial officers, small merchants, and artisans. Each caste depended upon the others for essential services and at the same time feared or scorned the others on religious grounds. The Christian kings undertook specifically to protect their Muslim and Jewish subjects, but at the end of the fifteenth century they turned from a policy of religious toleration to one of religious unity. Those Jews and Muslims who refused conversion were expelled from Spain. Those who converted retained their caste identification and functions, so that Spain of the Golden Age was still a society of three mutually symbiotic and antagonistic castes: the Old Christians, the *conversos* (former Jews), and the *moriscos* (former Muslims).

Castro's evidence comes mainly from the interpretation of literature and of royal and ecclesiastical documents. His signal contribution to historical knowledge has been his discovery of the large proportion of important intellectuals and officials of the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries who were of Jewish descent. He demonstrates, for example, that Hernando del Pulgar, the chronicler to the Catholic kings, was a *converso* by quoting a letter in which Pulgar refers ironically to the statutes of blood purity in Guipúzcoa. Addressing the *converso* Cardinal Mendoza, Pulgar writes that "it was ordained that we should not go there to marry or to dwell. . . . Isn't it ridiculous that all, or many of them, send their sons here to serve us, and many of them as running footmen, and at the same time, they do not wish to be relatives by marriage of those they wish to serve" (p. 79). In such instances and in his use of folk poetry to illustrate popular attitudes or in his use of the *Siete Partidas* to illustrate the bases of royal policy, Castro is usually convincing. But the weakness of his method is that he frequently asks the reader to accept generalizations on the basis of the fragmentary reports of a single traveler or the etymology of a single word. It is indeed interesting that the Hispano-Christian "had no traditional word of his own for 'tailor' " and used the Gallicism *sastre*. This would be one small evidence, along with more solid economic information, that the art of tailoring developed earlier in southern France than in northern Spain, but it ought not to suggest that Christian Spaniards were unable or unwilling to become tailors.

Two versions of Professor Castro's evolving work have been translated into English, and historians will, I think, find both of them invaluable. *The Structure of Spanish History* (1954) not only dealt with his historiographical theories and his exposition of the role of Islam, but included rich chapters on the Castilian epic, on the archpriest of Hita's *Libro de Buen Amor* in relation to Islamic cultural influences, and on the role of the Jews in medieval Spain. In the present book he expands his earlier historiographical ideas, his discussion of Islam, and his chapters on the cult of Santiago. He adds many illustrative examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas, proportionately speaking, *Structure* used principally examples from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. He quotes copiously from and generously acknowledges the new contributions made since 1954 by other scholars. He can never forego the pleasure of lambasting the soulless, "materialistic" economic historians, but he has often broadened his reasoning to include their type of evidence, as can be clearly seen by comparing his discussions of tolerance (pp. 221–29 in *Structure,* pp. 498–507 in *The Spaniards*). In the 1971 version he retains all the material from the Koran, from Ibn Hazm, from the *Siete Partidas,* Juan Manuel, and F. Raymond Lully on which his original discussion was based. But he has added paragraphs on the political and economic reasons that made tolerance an important royal policy for both the Islamic rulers and the Christian kings, and he notes that the decline of tolerance in the fifteenth century is directly related to the declining power of royal government to protect the minority castes against popular prejudice. Finally, he offers a completely new chapter, "In Search of a Better Social Order," in which he shows the inner emotional and intellectual connections among the *comuneros,* the Erasmists, the *Illuminati,* and the nineteenth-cen-

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tury Krausists and anarchists. His frequent fusion of historical interpretation with contemporary human concern is well illustrated by his comment that "after 1833 neither constitutional government nor European theoretical thought sent down vigorous roots in Spain; on the other hand there was a curious revival of attempts to probe the *inner self* in the hope of finding there a solution to the problems that continued to trouble the souls of the most enlightened Spaniards—problems that today are taking on increasing actuality, despite the dominance of our technologically created automatism, the horrible risk of which is nothing less than the self-destruction of mankind" (p. 370). The addition of new materials has simultaneously increased the intellectual value of the text and made it stylistically more disjointed. Students of Spanish history will want to study both versions, and I hope that neither social-science-oriented scholars nor Rankean political historians will allow their irritation with Castro's exaggerations and polemics to prevent them from appreciating a great work of scholarship. His textual analyses are always important, even when they do not prove the particular theses he is arguing, and there is hardly a page in either work that does not include a challenging suggestion or interpretation concerning some issue of general human import.

GABRIEL JACKSON
University of California, San Diego

CLARA E. LIDA and IRIS M. ZAVALA, editors. *La Revolución de 1868: Historia, pensamiento, literatura.* Foreword by VICENTE LLORENS. New York: Las Americas Publishing Company. 1970. Pp. 503. $8.50.

In 1868 the Spanish military toppled the Bourbon monarchy in the name of constitutional government, universal suffrage, and the civil rights needed to implement those ideals (freedom of the press, freedom of association, and intellectual inquiry). Such goals are in striking contrast with those of army officers in 1936, as the editors point out in the prologue to their volume of essays honoring the centennial of the "Glorious Revolution." Franco's censors, of course, deleted their comments but allowed publication of this work, which substantially enriches our knowledge of this perplexing major revolution that has either been ignored or disdained by Spanish intellectualdom at large. These essays by French, Spanish, American, and English scholars reveal how far research has penetrated the rhetoric (of both the political Right and Left) in order to investigate the subsoil of society, economy, and culture where the functioning of political power is determined. The volume badly needs an introductory essay to conceptualize the period and its problems: always valuable for perspective, it is essential in coordinating such highly disparate, specialized monographs. It is agreed that monographs constitute the only technique to achieve a new synthesis (to replace a discarded textbook liberalism), but meanwhile some theoretical construct is needed in order to assimilate, for example, Paul Drochon's two discerning studies on religious reform.

The political dimension of this national revolution has long been established: a new state was fashioned (theoretically two, although the republican constitution never formally replaced that of the constitutional monarchy). Manuel Tuñón de Lara strips down the power apparatus (parties, interests, structure) to show that in the end it functioned consciously or inadvertently to prevent any change in landowning patterns: thus the keystone of the established order remained in place. The economic change-over to free trade has been clarified by Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz's study of industrial and financial conditions. To this earlier essay (reprinted in this volume) he adds a case study of the desperate plight of Cádiz as further proof of his assertion that from mid-1866 on, a depression affected every sector of society and did so to such an extent that financiers, like workers, welcomed a radical political solution. Gabriel Tortella emphasizes the detrimental role of railroad building, which not only absorbed all available capital but depressed the industrial sector. Nuria Sales de Bohigas describes the many prestigious savings and speculative funds whose profits came from companies offering insurance against conscription: the financial crisis and a sudden increase in insurance claims (as Spain engaged in a series of wars) led to the collapse of the insurance companies. Deprived of protection for which they had paid exorbitant premiums, the middle

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class became more radical as they realized they had no more real privileges than workers.

Both liberalism and free trade were somewhat dated by 1868, while the dimension of the Spanish Revolution new in European politics was the large-scale mobilization of the proletariat outside the political system. Thus apoliticism, theorized as anarchism, became the official ideology of Spain's first national labor movement (organized in 1870). Only slowly and feebly did a group form in support of Marx's ideal of a socialist party. Clara Lida explores this dimension most profoundly in her study of the way an agricultural crisis in the first year after the revolution forced the federal republicans to choose too early between parliamentary reform and revolutionary agitation, thereby alienating workers; a second essay explores the role of the apolitical workers' press.

A clearer link must be established between events in Spain and contemporaneous, decisive developments in Europe. The impact of Vatican Council I has been almost completely ignored, and we do not know, therefore, the consequences of Pius IX's decision (following the loss of the Vatican states) to transform the nature of ultramontanism in order to secure an expanded and more flexible intervention in national clerical politics. This was undoubtedly a factor in the split between Spain's Catholic parliamentary groups and Carlism and in the ensuing Carlist War. The links to the First International have been studied, but Clara Lida's research opens a new aspect: the contacts during the preceding two decades between Spanish republicans and their counterparts in Italy and the United States. In the 1860s this republican movement splintered (most dramatically, the break of Bakunin with the League for Peace and Freedom) as civil libertarians broke with those concerned with workers' rights. These international ties among republicans made it possible for Bakunin's ideas to spread in Spain: his emissaries arrived in the fall of 1868, made contact with republicans like Orense and Garrido, and traveled with them to exploit the political fervor of the first national elections under manhood suffrage.

Among the essays on ideology Ruíz Salvador's article stands out as a fully developed treatment of the political function of the Ateneo; he analyzes a dichotomy that is usually glossed over between Krausist intellectuals per se and political activists who incorporated Krausist principles into the political ideology they fashioned for the revolution. Elías Díaz writes an equally clarifying essay on the "social reformism" of Gumersindo Azcárate, who is subsequently so influential a figure on the frontier between republicanism and the dynastic parties. Iris Zavala surveys newspapers, going in greatest depth into the republic press, which played a major role in politicizing the middle class. Temma Kaplan only outlines her work on the scientific progress that resulted from the new freedom of inquiry and even more from state subsidies for empirical research, both of which were cut short when accused of fostering social revolution.

The essay by Donald Shaw in the section on literature is truly innovative as it traces a new, enervating phase of criticism after 1868 that destroyed the preceding attempt to harmonize conflicting ideologies in a rational fashion. Brian Dendle's study of Galdós's conservative ideas on Cuba sticks too closely to textual analysis, ignoring the close ties of Galdós's family to military politics and financial interests in Cuba.

This volume is an invaluable *passe partout* into a relatively new but very fertile field of research. Only a few of the plots have been marked for research, many others remain. The editors have done well to dramatize this possibility and to urge collaboration in the creation of a new synthesis.

JOAN CONNELLY ULLMAN
University of Washington

MAX SPINDLER, editor, with the collaboration of SIGMUND BENKER *et al. Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte.* Volume 3, *Franken, Schwaben, Oberpfalz, bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhundert.* In two parts. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1971. Pp. xxxiv, 799; 804–1622. DM 148.

The *Handbook of Bavarian History* continues its admirable elucidation of the Bavarian past according to the most up-to-date scholarship. Volume 2, published in 1969, surveyed the ancient territory itself during the eventful centuries from the establishment of the duchy in 1180 to the Napoleonic wars (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1735–37). Volume 3, divided into two parts

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and running to sixteen hundred pages, covers the lands incorporated into Bavaria upon the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1803–10: Franconia and East Swabia, as well as the Upper Palatinate, a Wittelsbach possession since the thirteenth century, and—as an appendix—the bishoprics of Freising, Regensburg, and Passau, and the Imperial City of Regensburg. These are amorphous regions comprising a broad mosaic of jurisdictions whose political complexity and multiplicity of traditions pose for the modern historian formidable difficulties of organization and balance.

Nothing but praise is in order for the way in which these difficulties have been surmounted. Professor Spindler and his contributing scholars have again produced a volume that is not only immensely instructive, but also makes enjoyable reading. Its usefulness as a work of reference is assured by such aids as an analytical table of contents, a generous index, and italicized key words, names, and phrases in the text, so that the reader by simply running his eyes down the page can immediately find what he wants to see. Excellent bibliographies at the opening of each section as well as copious footnote references give him the *Forschungsstand* at a glance. There are also dynastic tables, lists of bishops, and so on; but no maps, only frequent references to the *Historical Atlas of Bavaria,* the *Pfalzatlas,* and other cartographical works. The printing is handsome: the whole book is a joy to handle. Despite conciseness and the need to bring out general trends, the nineteen authors convey an impression of leisurely storytelling. While they do not neglect the role of individuals, they show a pervasive concern with structure (of political conditions, social change, international relations), with evolving instruments of government, with demography, and with the coming into being of distinct regional cultures. All authors know that ill-defined regions like Franconia and Swabia cannot be removed from their larger political and cultural contexts; the authors therefore stress at nearly every point the interdependence of territorial affairs and the correspondences that must be drawn if the story is to make sense. They also achieve a satisfying balance between political history and the discussion of economic conditions and changes, social dynamics, and intellectual life. Special weight in the narrative goes to those phenomena whose importance transcends territorial affairs; thus Nuremberg in Franconia and Augsburg in Swabia receive the lion's share of attention, without deflecting, however, the authors' chief concern with demonstrating the continuity of regional traditions and cultures.

Within the main outlines of this regional narrative the authors provide information on a large number of important topics. Space permits me to list only a few that I found of special interest. We find out a great deal, for example, about the roles of historical agents usually neglected, such as petty princes and imperial counts like the Hennebergs, Hohenlohes, Schwarzenbergs, and Castells in Franconia. Most of the material for such microhistory lies buried in the pages of scattered regional journals; here it is all brought together. While the many sections on learning and high culture occasionally lapse into mere lists of names, it is instructive to have before one a kind of inventory of the many centers of humanism in Franconia and Swabia and a place-by-place discussion of, for instance, mysticism in the regions' convents and monasteries. There are excellent comprehensive sections on primary and secondary education as well as on universities and other institutions of formal learning. The place of Jews in regional economies receives attention, and the events of Reformation and Counter-Reformation are told in an impeccably ecumenical spirit. There is a long and fascinating section on the exploitation of iron ore in the Upper Palatinate in the late Middle Ages, and much more. Nearly every reader will find occasion to disagree with selection and emphasis, but the work as a whole must be counted a major achievement. Professor Spindler and his colleagues have put all historians of the old Empire in their debt.

GERALD STRAUSS
Indiana University, Bloomington

FRITZ STERN. *The Failure of Illiberalism: Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xliv, 233. xii. $7.95.

These important essays by a distinguished American historian of Germany are at last

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available to readers in book form. Stern's liberalism is a clear and consistent point of view: the institutionalization of decency, political playfulness, persuasion, debate, and tolerant dissent are the personal and political virtues he upholds and finds lacking in German history. Instead he finds illiberalism, which he defines as a state of mind that makes no concessions to a democracy that might undermine the authority, prestige, or status of the German elites. Illiberalism is a cultural style embodying obedience, the uneasy adulation of authority, and a faith in the supreme value of the nation-state.

Stern is sensitive to the nonrational and symbolic aspects of politics. He sees German history over the last century as "a clear argument against the adequacy of the older conception of politics as essentially the rational pursuit of rational and usually material ends. . . . German history can be read as a lesson in the symbolic and projective side of modern politics." He issues a clarion call for historians to stop their abstractions depicting "statesmen as if they were political calculators who had checked their psyche and their past, their upbringing, their aspirations, their unspoken assumptions in the vestibules of their offices." In his writing of history Stern appreciates the emotional nuances of politics, such as anxiety, fear, and status. He writes particularly well, having a talent for turning a good phrase, as when he says that Chancellor Heinrich Brüning "proved to be the hinge of Nazism."

The critical point in the political tradition of illiberalism was Bismarck's influence. His long rule imposed an imprint of intolerant divisive bitterness in German civic life. The world was divided by him into categories of friends and foes, a polarization of politics that made parliamentary compromise impossible. Bismarck's foreign policy bred threat and aggressive postures abroad, all of which contributed to the onset of World War One.

Stern's essay "The Political Consequences of the Unpolitical German" is a classic exposition of the cultural rationalizations of the alleged "unpolitical" stance of the German *Bürger*. What Stern points to is a retreat from politics to philosophical idealism that enabled middle-class Germans to acquiesce in political turpitude. Stern locates the clearest expressions of this "unpolitical" illiberalism in the declarations of leading intellectuals, such as Ernst Troeltsch, Thomas Mann, Werner Sombart, and Max Weber, who defended German *Kultur* against "Western" liberalism during World War One. Stern has written the best essay in the historical literature on the peculiar German middle-class virtue of "standing above politics."

Professor Stern sees in the Weimar era a terrifying example of the dialectics of radical politics that whipsawed the weak and fearful liberal middle. The Weimar Republic dramatized for all time the precariousness of freedom. As a faculty witness to the student upheavals at Columbia University he writes: "The young sometimes see their elders as accomplices or perpetuators of earlier crimes, and they confound a moment of repression with the long night of totalitarianism; the older generation, in turn, see in youthful militancy the pacemakers of a fascist backlash."

As the best creative historians have always done, Stern has integrated the intellectual with the emotional experiences of his life, and he uses these to enrich his work. Stern describes his personal feelings on his return in 1954 to a Germany much changed from the one he left in 1938 as a twelve-year-old boy. He returned as a visiting professor at West Berlin's new Free University. On seeing the totalitarian East German state with its ubiquitous police, he took a taxi to West Berlin and resolved that that was his last visit to the East. He had seen the reincarnation of the terror of his boyhood. The resolve was one he did not keep. He has visited and taught in both Germanies dozens of times since that first trip. He finds a peaceful, truncated Germany in which the illiberal traditions of the past and the Hitler era have become largely irrelevant. This is a cogent and stimulating book that deserves to be widely read among scholars of modern German history and students of society and politics.

PETER LOEWENBERG
University of California, Los Angeles

WILLIAM M. JOHNSTON. *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 515. $17.50.

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"This volume will, I earnestly hope, stimulate—or, as the case may be, irritate—future researchers into reexamining the entire range of Austrian thought." William Johnston thus defines his primary intention in his opening line. I think he will succeed in just the ways he anticipates: by stimulation and by irritation. The enormously rich empirical content of his work, the product of admirably wide-ranging research, opens up areas of Austrian thought of the most enticing kind to future historical exploration. Yet the frequent superficiality of analysis of individual thinkers and the impressionistic frailty of the categories the author uses to organize the whole cannot but produce irritation—even discouragement—in the reader. This intellectual malaise is increased by the unrealized expectations aroused by the subtitle and re-enforced by the author's methodological introduction: that *The Austrian Mind* is *An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938*. Instead of the developmental approach thus suggested in which a change in thought would be correlated with a change in social conditions, the author offers a kind of static taxonomy in which thinkers are grouped and classified under cultural categories. This is a book that deals with the past, but temporal process plays little role in it; the author is not concerned to define and explain the direction of change in Austria's intellectual life.

The fundamental structural units of the book are brief vignettes of individual thinkers, roughly seventy in number. Of almost uniform size—generally of seven or eight paragraphs each—these sketches are employed like encyclopedic modules to show the substance of the branch of thought to which a given chapter is devoted. The author has read widely to produce his condensed vignettes of thinkers; the clear bibliographical references in the footnotes to each constitute an outstanding contribution to learning in their own right. The vignettes themselves, however, are uneven in quality. Some, like those of the feminist Rosa Mayreder or the criminologist Hans Gross, offer a balance between life and idea. In others the weight falls heavily on biographical episode and personal attitude to the neglect of ideas (particularly incomprehensible is this emphasis in the case of the philosopher Wittgenstein). In still others the ideas are fully described while the life situation to which they constituted a response is neglected. In general the author has a taste for the isolated fact, for "data"—such as the place of birth, the teachers, and the personal friends of his subjects—which he too often introduces without making clear to the reader what meaning they contribute to the subject at hand. The lapidary style of his communication re-enforces the textbookish quality the informational vignette imparts.

The short chapters into which Mr. Johnston organizes these modular entities deal either with a professional group (for example, economists, legal theorists, musicians and music critics, philosophers of language) or an attitude or outlook (for example, Phaeacians and feuilletonists, fascination with death, utopians from Hungary). The chapters in turn are grouped into parts, of which three deal with the German lands of Austria and one each with the special traditions and attributes of Bohemian and Hungarian intellectual life.

Bureaucracy quite properly provides Mr. Johnston with his principal categorical context for the examination of German-Austrian social thought. One misses in his treatment of both legal and economic theory the tension created by history itself as liberal capitalism passed into finance capitalism. Johnston virtually omits the two most important theorists who reflected this change: Böhm-Bawerk, with his stress on the interest rate as a decisive control point over economic behavior, and his student and theoretical antagonist Rudolf Hilferding, whose *Das Finanzkapital* (1910) gave Marxists for the first time a theoretical framework for addressing the phenomenon of modern imperialism. A confrontation of these theorists would have shown how Austria's cameralist tradition was revived as the bureaucratization of economic power created new problems for classical and Marxist economics alike. But in a work that surveys so much, it scarcely behooves the critic to cavil at omissions. As it is, *The Austrian Mind* makes welcome forays into areas all too neglected by intellectual historians of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries: legal theory, language theory, medical theory, and art history are among the fields that lend their unusual colors to Mr. Johnston's vast collage.

Parts 4 and 5 deal with intellectual attitudes

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that Bohemia and Hungary respectively have presumably contributed to the Austrian mentality. Mr. Johnston defines these attitudes with more originality than persuasiveness. Thus he revives Marcionism—an early heresy stressing the diabolic component in the creation—as a concept to comprehend the pessimistic outlook of Prag Germans. Marcionism, however, as he himself explains, pressed its terrestrial pessimism into the service of cosmic optimism by exalting Christ as savior. One looks in vain for the optimistic dimension in Kafka and most of the other Prag "Germans" Johnston discusses, who, largely Jewish, only rarely (as in the case of Franz Werfel) found salvation in Christianity. Similarly, Mr. Johnston elevates the Magyar term *délibáb (fata morgana),* which denotes the tendency to utopian illusion, to the rank of an analytic category to explain most of the Hungarian culture he deals with. *Délibáb* is enriched by other impressionistically defined Hungarian characteristics—the gift of improvisation, the ability to put cause ahead of self—to round out the arsenal of attributes that all too easily permit descriptive designation to supplant historical analysis. When we find the thought of Jews of essentially Austro-German culture like Herzl and Nordau interpreted as typical Hungarian products, and without reference to any concrete developmental encounter between their lives and their thought, one simply has to cry "Enough!" Yet just as the reader loses faith in Johnston's intellectual constructions, he offers, in the very next chapter, a sensitive and convincing explanation of the relationship between the sociology of knowledge as developed by Lukács and Mannheim and the Hungarian tradition of a socially engaged literature.

Enough has been said to indicate that *The Austrian Mind* is a book at once questionable and rich. It is questionable partly because it is conceived and written like a factual survey or textbook in a field in which nothing like a canon has yet been developed. It is questionable, too, because the vast and impressionistic descriptive categories favored by the author conceal problems rather than expose them and thus inhibit analysis rather than further it. Yet these defects cannot deprive the book of its essential virtue—its challenging array of the variegated elements that made up the incredibly fertile intellectual life of Austria-Hungary.

CARL E. SCHORSKE
Princeton University

GIORGIO COSTAMAGNA. *Il notaio a Genova tra prestigio e potere.* (Studi storici sul notariato italiano, Number 1.) Rome: Consiglio Nazionale del Notariato; distrib. by Volumnia Editrice, Perugia. 1970. Pp. xviii, 315. L. 6,000.

The Italian notariate, with its presumptive if not demonstrable origins in antiquity and the important place it has held among the country's institutions, has long been regarded as a worthy subject for future research. In 1968 the Consiglio Nazionale del Notariato, which has already promoted a number of publications and exhibits, created a historical commission charged with the support of several major studies, of which this is the first to appear.

The author, who is director of the Archivio di Stato in Genoa, has the command of his materials we might expect, but the outlook is not that of an archivist alone but a historian as well. The notary and his output belong not only to the history of diplomatic but to that of literacy and law, to the search in all societies for "sicurezza cognitiva" (p. 7), and the first chapter considers the notaries' responsibilities in this subjective frame of reference from their origins in Lombard times and before, down to the fall of the republic in 1798. Later chapters consider, successively, the evolution of notarial diplomata; the notary's place in state and society, with much attention to the effects of a certain crystallizing of the former as a consequence of measures taken in the sixteenth century; and the evolution of procedures having to do with the qualifications of notaries. Two final chapters discuss the institutional life of the College of Notaries. Where points of paleography are relevant, as is often the case, there are clear illustrations, as well as a number of plates, which are more decorative than useful to the scholar.

The treatment is insightful and eloquent, given a tendency toward metaphysical obscurity. For all the care taken in synthesis and annotation, however, the work is not well suited to be a base for further exploration. Put briefly, the difficulty is that Costamagna's premises are ethnographic but his conclusions

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are not. He raises questions regarding stability in interpersonal relations, the function of an official person in a changing social structure, the roles of particular institutions in a larger institutional context, and the like, but the discussion remains within a frame established by the masters of diplomatic research in the last century and earlier. Perhaps nobody need answer questions like these, especially if he has not asked them, but Costamagna has. One may not fault his obvious intention that the book be read as a whole and not mined by students of the ethnography of legal systems and the like; one may appreciate his view of things, which is Dantesque (p. 10) and pre-Kantian (p. 210) in the end. Still, a book must be consistent with its own metaphysics, and to the extent that it is not, we are left with disjointed insights.

AVERY ANDREWS
George Washington University

FIORELLA BARTOCCINI. *La "Roma dei Romani."* (Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca scientifica. Series: Memorie, Volume 26.) Rome: the Istituto. 1971. Pp. xii, 553.

Even though somewhat too detailed and marred by long, tortuous sentences, *Rome of the Romans* is a good book. It centers, as the author states in the introduction, on Rome and its people in relation to Italian unification. The title was a formula invoked after another, the right of Italians to Rome, had no effect in negotiations with Louis Napoleon. It meant that the Romans themselves were to act to overthrow the temporal power and join Rome to Italy.

While the people of Rome are central, the attempts of Italian statesmen—principally Cavour, Ricasoli, Rattazzi, and Minghetti—to solve the "Roman Question" are, necessarily, treated. These statesmen dealt with a Roman committee of moderate liberals that was established after 1849. Much of the book is devoted to this organization. The author shows that the committee wound up in the same position as the National Society—dependent on the initiative of Turin—but also that it could not even do some of the things Italian leaders (especially Ricasoli and Minghetti) wanted it to do because of police repression and apathy on the part of the Roman masses. Yet the members of the committee were rather timid, wanting Turin not to ask much of them and to do the job of making Rome the capital.

The figures who dealt with the committee most were Ricasoli and Minghetti, and in revealing this the author makes one of her important contributions. In regard to Cavour she demonstrates not only how he urged the committee to do nothing that might provoke France in 1859 and 1860, but also—and very well—how he feared a popular insurrection in Rome such as occurred in 1848. Regarding Ricasoli and Minghetti, she shows how the former, laboring under a "Roman obsession" in 1861–62, pushed the Romans to act after failing to secure any concessions from Napoleon III and how the latter, while negotiating the September Convention of 1864, did the same. Both accorded the committee official recognition and financial aid. Rattazzi, whose name is associated with Aspromonte and Mentana, comes off, as in other works, as unstable and irresponsible. But the author proves that at the start, in 1862 as well as 1867, Rattazzi did not want to force a showdown on Rome and that Ricasoli had, in 1862, triggered the movement that led to Garibaldi's attempt to take Rome.

Deserving mention is the chapter entitled "Rome of the Pope," which, among other things, shows how the lower classes of Rome were rather content in a society in which they were poor, but in which, with charitable institutions and the absence of upsets characteristic of industrialization, they were rather secure. Even on the part of the *signori* there was a good deal of paternalism.

DONALD A. LIMOLI
University of California, Santa Barbara

GIORGIO ROCHAT. *Militari e politici nella preparazione della campagna d'Etiopia: Studio e documenti 1932–1936.* (Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia.) [Milan:] Franco Angeli Editore. 1971. Pp. 514. L. 6,000.

Italian ministerial files on the Ethopian war are closed. The administrative records published on naval and military activities are of little interest. For evidence from official papers we rely on snippets in memoirs, bits of cap-

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tured material. and the occasional revelation in the press. Evidence from such sources, including revealing sections from De Bono's diary and some interesting Ethiopian records, was brought together, without adequate citation, by Gianfranco Bianchi in *Rivelazioni sul conflitto italo-etiopico* (1967). In the Archivio Centrale dello Stato are collections of the papers of three principals, De Bono, Badoglio, and Graziani. Rochat's book, presented through the auspices of the Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia, draws on these to publish, with full scholarly care and with a long interpretive commentary, some hundred or so documents (letters and memoranda mainly) dealing narrowly with the planning and direction of the invasion.

There was no coherence to the planning of this war but endless conniving, rivalry, and intrigue. Alternative policies, formulated sometimes with astounding vagueness and lack of knowledge, were directed to Mussolini by contending factions often in the form of personal appeals. The army was set against the colonial ministry. Badoglio sought to undermine De Bono. Graziani—who was never, before or during the war, given clear orders as to what he should do in the southern theater—played both ends against the center, taking advantage of shifting allegiances in Rome to get war materials deprived him by the northern command. Staff work in the ministries and in the field was put to the service of parochial or personal ambition. The roles of Federico Baistrocchi, Alberto Bonzani, Alessandro Lessona, and Giuseppe Valle in all this maneuvering are clearly established. Immediate advantage was often sought over national interest or even institutional loyalty. Command structure was ignored. Everything was made to depend on Mussolini, who permitted this factionalism to go unchecked. It is quite remarkable to see how this major enterprise was embarked upon with so little coordination among the responsible agencies. One looks in vain to find in these documents thoughts on the army's subsequent role in Europe or expressions of concern or interest about the international or domestic consequences of the war. The highest military officials, for reasons of conviction or ambition, eschewed these questions vital to national defense, abandoning the determination of national military policy to Mussolini. From this subservience and politicalization the Italian high command never recovered.

This book presents the most important set of documents yet published from the Italian side of the Ethiopian war. It is equally an exceptionally revealing view of the workings of the Fascist regime. Yet the view is one-sided. In his useful introduction Rochat gives only passing consideration to Mussolini's motives and intentions in responding to specific alternatives, and Rochat says too little about the domestic and international consequences of the war. This does reflect the documents, which give evidence of little concern with such matters. But context and reciprocal influence are important to establish as precisely as possible because Mussolini's decisions, absolutely central to the process here examined, were made before the war according to a variety of considerations largely unrelated to military preparations in East Africa, and, later, when the war began, the state of military operations influenced his policy decisions.

GEORGE BAER
University of California, Santa Cruz

STANKO GULDESCU. *The Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, 1526–1792.* (Studies in European History, Number 21.) The Hague: Mouton. 1970. Pp. 318. 54 gls.

A sequel to his *History of the Medieval Croatian Kingdom to 1526* (The Hague, 1964), Professor Guldescu's present volume deals mainly with political and military history, but its distinguishing feature is the unusual amount of attention it devotes to cultural developments. The work invites twofold criticism: the author largely ignores the historiographical output of Yugoslavia since 1945, and he allows his political views to influence his judgments. He harbors a keen distaste for the ideas of a south Slavic union (p. 152), and this leads him to banish from the Croatian hall of fame some distinguished writers who sympathized with these ideas. He dismisses the seventeenth-century Pan-Slav Križanić with two disdainful sentences (p. 293) and offers no hint that, leaving aside his Pan-Slavic visions, Križanić was one of the most imaginative intellects Croatia produced whose ideas in the realms of politics, economics, and linguistics had a distinctly

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modern ring for his time. A similar treatment is meted out to Ritter-Vitezović (1652–1713), another believer in south Slavic unity. Vitezović rates three sentences (and no index entry) supported by a condescending footnote (p. 295), none of which will allow the reader to discover that here was a luminary of Croatian letters and the most important precursor of nineteenth-century Croatian national awakening who inspired the language reforms of Ljudevit Gaj. (For Vitezović's influence on Gaj, see Fancev's article in *Hrvatsko Kolo* [16 (1935): 3–58].) To treat Vitezović in this fashion is tantamount to writing a history of English literature and disposing of Shakespeare in a couple of sentences. Conceptions of south Slavic unity constituted a significant force in Croatian history. Professor Guldescu need not have made himself their advocate or sympathizer, but it was his obligation to give them due consideration: without them the Croatian awakening, steeped as it was in south Slavic conceptions, does not make sense. Finally, how does a reviewer respond to the startling observation that the Štokavian dialect (which Croats today share with the Serbs as the common basis of their literary languages) forms no part of Croatian literary heritage and was not employed in Croatian literature before the year 1800 (pp. 275, 301)? Perhaps by quoting from a recent vigorously pro-Croatian volume which is well above suspicion of being sympathetic to any Croat-Serbian union and which states that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, adoption of the Štokavian dialect was the only possible solution for the Croats "because of the already widespread literature in that dialect which brought together authors from different regions" (F. H. Eterovich and Christopher Spalatin, eds., *Croatia; Land, People, Culture* [1970], 2: 239).

STANLEY Z. PECH
University of British Columbia

VOJTECH MASTNY. *The Czechs under Nazi Rule: The Failure of National Resistance, 1939–1942.* (East Central European Studies of Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 274. $10.00.

DETLEF BRANDES. *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat.* Volume 1, *Besatzungs-politik, Kollaboration und Widerstand im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren bis Heydrichs Tod (1939–1942.* Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1969. Pp. 372. DM 45.

By coincidence two historians, one an American of Czech origin, the other a German, have produced studies at the same time on the same subject: the Czechs under the rule of the Third Reich. The former, Vojtech Mastny, begins his work with a brief sketch of the relations between the Czechs and Germans prior to the Munich Agreement of 1938; the latter, Detlef Brandes, with the occupation of "Rest-Tschechei" and the establishment of Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren. Both authors end their volumes with an account of the SS terror that followed the assassination of Reichsprotector Reinhard Heydrich in 1942, and each plans to complete his study of the remaining years of the *Protektorat* in a second volume.

The two works are based on extensive research in German and Czech sources and are generally similar in their view of the nature of German rule in Bohemia and Moravia. Under the Nazi New Order the Czechs were to find a new niche within the fold of the Reich: President Hácha, who succeeded Beneš after Munich, was given vague promises of national autonomy. But Hitler did not take seriously the New Order, in the name of which he was conquering Europe, and his policy in occupied territories was based on control by brutal force: "As far as our might extends we can do what we like," he declared during one of his *Tischgespräche*. In fact, Hitler hated the Czechs and in 1932 had declared that they would have to be eliminated from Central Europe. Subjugation, oppression, and exploitation were only the preliminary steps in his plans for the Czechs. Next would come the extermination of the intelligentsia and of "racially inferior" elements consisting, in addition to the Jews, of all those who had "Slavic or mongoloid traits." The remaining population was to be Germanized and dispersed to various sections of the far-flung eastern possessions of the Reich leaving Bohemia, the "heartland of Europe" in Haushofer's geopolitical world, open to resettlement by Germans of Aryan blood. When Hitler said, after Munich, that he did not want any Czechs, he meant it. He either wanted them dead or as Germanized slave labor in Volhynia.

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Both Mastny and Brandes agree also in their description of the competition among the German agencies about how best to carry out Hitler's program. Neurath, the first "Protector of Bohemia and Moravia," tried at times to slow down the SS, which wanted to take drastic measures quickly. But the old bureaucrat was motivated only by personal rivalry with his deputy, Karl Hermann Frank: whatever restraint Germans may have exercised at first was due to their need to exploit fully the potential of the Czech armament industry and its labor force for war with Poland and France. The two authors differ only in their interpretation of Heydrich's role in instigating the terror on which the Nazis relied after the Blitzkrieg failed and the Germans faced the prospect of a long war and growing opposition in the occupied territories. Mastny portrays Heydrich as the evil genius and "master of application of terror"; Brandes thinks Heydrich was a gifted apprentice of Frank.

The two authors differ substantially in their treatment of the Czech opposition. Mastny states that in the 1938–39 period German power was not as great as the Czechs believed. Had the Czechs been less impressed by Hitler's arrogance, Mastny argues, they could have successfully opposed the Führer. Mastny criticizes the Hácha government severely and doubts that it had, in fact, salvaged anything for the Czech people by collaborating with the Germans. Czech resistance, Mastny believes, was ineffective, leaving the nation defenseless against oppression. Even Beneš's government in exile, Mastny claims, failed to formulate workable strategy for domestic resistance: the assassination of Heydrich was "a classic example of an attack against a powerful enemy undertaken with inadequate forces and disastrous consequences" (p. 224).

Brandes presents a more positive picture of the Czech response to the occupation based on sources not used by Mastny: the files of communications of the resistance groups with Beneš's government and on materials of the Historical Institute of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague. Brandes describes the resistance organizations in minute detail and concludes that they had a broad national basis, maintained effective contact with the exiles, and supplied information useful to the Allies. But the resistance organizations often consisted of people and used methods effective in World War I against Austria-Hungary, a far less formidable and more humane opponent than Hitler's SS. Nevertheless, Brandes asserts that the resistance groups had a powerful influence on people at home and on the policy of the government in exile.

The fate planned by the Germans for the Czechs was well known to the victims: the resistance insisted that Beneš demand from the Western Allies restitution of Czechoslovakia without its former German minority. The terror of 1942, especially the extermination of two Czech villages, Lidice and Ležáky, sealed the fate of the Sudeten Germans: Great Britain and France renounced the Munich Agreement and accepted Beneš's demands for transfer of the Sudeten Germans "heim in's Reich."

These two studies, both extensively researched and thoughtfully written, add another chapter to the chronicle of sorrow and pity that was Germany's sole legacy to the countries she occupied. We feel pity for President Hácha and Prime Minister Eliáš, who became collaborators in order to "save the people." Hácha became a helpless puppet in the hands of the cruelest of masters and an outcast of the nation for which he "sacrificed himself." Eliáš, his secret contacts with the government in exile discovered, was shot. Sorrow overcomes us when we consider the sacrifices of all those who resisted, but to little avail. The brutal wave swept over them and left the Czech nation bereaved and plundered.

DAGMAR HORNA PERMAN
Georgetown University

WITOLD KULA. *Théorie économique du système féodal: Pour un modèle de l'économie polonaise 16e–18e siècles.* Translated from the Polish. Preface by FERNAND BRAUDEL. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VIe Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de recherches historiques. Civilisation et sociétés, Number 15.) Paris: Mouton. 1970. Pp. vii, 173. 24 fr.

Witold Kula, a professor at the University of Warsaw, is one of the outstanding Polish specialists in the field of economic history and the author of extensive books on Polish industry in

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the eighteenth century, the theory of economic history, and the sociological significance of different systems of measures and weights. This little essay, first published in Polish in 1963, has now appeared in a revised and augmented French translation. The book may be considered the first Marxist attempt to explain the mechanism of the feudal system. ("Feudal," in the traditional, eighteenth-century meaning of the term, should be treated here as equivalent, at least in a chronological sense, to the term "precapitalist.") Though strictly an analysis of the economy of the Polish Republic from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, this study may help us as well to gain a better understanding of various phenomena peculiar to other precapitalist countries, including the contemporary third world.

Polish agriculture in this period was based on serfdom and compulsory labor. The peasants were endowed with small patches of land that had to assure their own subsistence, as well as the maintenance of the livestock with which the peasants cultivated the manorial farm. In theory the economy of the peasant holdings was a natural one, whereas the manorial farm produced mainly for the market. Kula begins his essay with an analysis of the accounts of different Polish estates in order to prove that an economy of this kind cannot be appreciated according to capitalist criteria. If one tries to establish the balance of such an enterprise without taking into account the value of gratuitous labor, one concludes that it gave enormous profits: if, on the other hand, one introduces into the account the market value of labor, one perceives heavy losses. In actuality the feudal enterprise cannot be analyzed with capitalist methods, and an original model must be worked out in order to interpret its mechanism.

The author builds such a model, first in a scale of "short duration" consisting in a series of good and bad harvests. In a good year of big harvests and low prices the landlord sold more wheat for export, whereas the peasant went into the local market where he purchased salt, tools, and some clothing. On the contrary, in a bad year the higher prices did not compensate the landlord for the sharply diminished volume of the surplus sold. In such a year the peasant did not sell anything and was even obliged to cut down on his intake of food. The production of town craftsmen was also conditioned by the rural situation and—contrary to what is known of the capitalist economy—the towns were also better off in years of low prices.

Brief mention may be given to the class-struggle aspect of the model established by Kula: the peasants never ceasing surreptitiously to enlarge their holdings; the landlords using all means in order to cut off their serfs from the market, mainly through the agency of the village inn with its monopoly on the sale of spirits. The most interesting part of the essay, however, is the chapter devoted to the "long duration": the trend of the Polish economy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. A minute analysis of the terms of trade enjoyed by different groups of rural producers in Poland clearly demonstrates that during those centuries these terms evolved in a manner more and more remunerative for the magnate, who was a big exporter of wheat. In the same period the profits rose much more slowly for the middle-sized landowner, while they were drastically in decline for the peasants, given the greater difficulty of access to the market. Such a differentiated trend, presented clearly in charts and diagrams, explains not a few aspects of the economic and political decline of the Polish Republic until its final partition at the end of the eighteenth century.

Kula's book is based on extensive documentation comprising editions of sources, statistical tables, and secondary literature. Research in the field of agrarian history has always been very active in Poland, and the last decades have added many valuable contributions. However, the problem of the rentability of the domains is one of the least investigated subjects; the sources are scarce and scattered and do not always lead to systematic comparison. The author accordingly insists that his thesis be considered only as a first approach that will be corroborated or modified by further investigations. Such as it is, this essay is an eminently readable book, and it gives ample matter for reflection for every specialist interested in problems of precapitalist societies independent of space and time.

STEFAN KIENIEWICZ
University of Warsaw

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LUCJAN BLIT. *The Origins of Polish Socialism: The History and Ideas of the First Polish Socialist Party, 1878–1886.* (International Studies, published for the Centre for International Studies, London School of Economics and Political Science.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. ix, 160. $10.00.

ZYGMUNT ŁUKAWSKI. *Polacy w rosyjskim ruchu socjaldemokratycznym w latach 1883–1893* [Polish Participation in the Russian Social Democratic Movement, 1883–1893]. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Number 241. Prace Historyczne, Number 31.) Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1970. Pp. 149. Zł. 26.

These two small books have a chronology and subject that partly overlap and supplement each other. While Blit's monograph, written in London, is based largely on secondary sources, that of Łukawski, working in Cracow but with access to the Soviet archives, represents an impressive amount of research in Russian as well as Polish primary materials. Although Blit claims to have investigated various collections of documents, the Wojnicz Collection, one of the most important of them, is quoted only in the conclusions.

Since the history of the first Polish Socialist party "Proletariat" was closely connected with the Russian revolutionary movement, and Blit stresses that point repeatedly, he should have investigated more carefully the rich Polish literature on the subject. Yet he overlooks many Polish works like those by K. Pietkiewicz, T. M. Bobrowski, and W. Sliwowska. Blit's bibliography does not, for instance, contain such essential works as L. Płochocki (Z. Wasilewski), *Wzaimnyie otnoshenia polskich i ruskikh sotsialistov* (London, 1902). Richard Pipes, *Social Democracy and the St. Petersburg Labor Movement, 1885–1897* (1963) should also have been examined by Blit for the influence of the early Polish revolutionary circles on their Russian counterparts. Interestingly enough, a Polish scholar writing in Cracow has used this significant Western monograph.

In addition to these gaps Blit's monograph contains some omissions and mistakes; for instance, while including M. Mazowiecki's *Historia Ruchu Socialistycznego . . .*, one should add the real name of the author, Ludwik Kulczycki, an important figure of the movement; the name of the German scholar, Dr. Ulrich Hausstein, author of a very good book, *Sozialismus in Polen* (Cologne-Vienna, 1969), is misspelled as Halstein. G. W. Stobel's collection of documents, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kommunismus in Polen, 1878–1918* (Cologne, 1968), should also have been consulted by Blit.

Without listing further the mistakes and omissions, one should conclude that the two books are of unequal value: while Blit's work, a smoothly written narrative, may introduce English-speaking students to the origins of the Polish Socialist movement, Łukawski's work represents a more pedestrian and much narrower, but much more solid, scholarly monograph on a significant aspect of the movement's early history. Any student of Russo-Polish relations in the second half of the nineteenth century should benefit from reading this study of relations between the two revolutionary movements.

M. K. DZIEWANOWSKI
Boston University

GEORGE F. KENNAN. *The Marquis de Custine and His Russia in 1839.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 145. $6.00.

JOHN PARKINSON. *A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea, 1792–1794.* Edited with an introduction by WILLIAM COLLIER. (Russia through European Eyes, Number 11.) [London:] Frank Cass and Company. 1971. Pp. xix, 280. £4.00.

Alien, foreboding, and yet fascinating to Western eyes, Russia has inspired a plethora of travel accounts. The best of these, like Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth* (1591) or Donald M. Wallace's *Russia* (1877), have been invaluable to historians, for their authors possessed the two essential traits of the first-class observer: a concern for factual reliability and a flair for perceptive judgments. Unfortunately, neither of the travelers under review displayed this happy combination of talents. The sensitive and irascible French man of letters, the Marquis de Custine, filled his work with intriguing generalizations but gave little attention to accuracy of detail; the more phlegmatic and tolerant Oxford don, John Parkinson, faithfully recorded the events of his tour but almost never reflected on their significance.

While admitting the marquis' deficiencies in "fact and observation," George Kennan argues

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that these failings do not seriously detract from the worth of Custine's book. In an attempt to strengthen Custine's faltering reputation, Kennan devotes considerable space to explaining away the hostile reactions to Custine's work, to showing the peripheral nature of its many errors, and most of all to demonstrating the value of the book's major achievement—its insights into such matters as the nature of Russian despotism, the extent of gentry servility, and the dangerous implications of the Russians' fear of the truth. These arguments are not always convincing. Although Kennan tells us much about Custine's prejudices and their origins, the author does not fully answer important questions such as how well prepared was Custine to analyze Russian conditions or how much would Custine's desire to achieve literary fame by his account of Russia affect his writing. No less troublesome are the idiosyncratic ways in which Kennan sometimes supports Custine: for example, Custine's "effeminancy . . . had endowed him with intuitive powers beyond those common to members of his sex" (pp. 13–14) or "even if we admit that *La Russie en 1839* was not a very good book about Russia in 1839 we are confronted with the disturbing fact that it was . . . probably . . . the best of the books about the Russia of Joseph Stalin" (p. 124). The sections on Custine's reasons for going to Russia and the Russian sources for his views are far more persuasive. While these sections are not, as Kennan admits, totally original or definitive, they are notable for their subtle use of indirect evidence and for the elegant pen portraits they contain of such men as Alexander Turgenev and Prince Kozlovskii. Kennan may not have entirely succeeded in resurrecting Custine, but he has certainly enabled us to know Custine better and to read *La Russie en 1839* with greater understanding than previously.

Unlike Custine, Parkinson apparently believed it the traveler's duty to restrict himself to "fact and observation." Parkinson's Russian diaries, written when he accompanied the young Edward Wilbraham-Bootle on an eastern version of the Grand Tour, concentrate on what Parkinson saw, and he saw a good deal. Where Custine was often snubbed by the Russian aristocracy, who knew his reputation as a homosexual, and was always hampered by the suspicious Nicholaian bureaucracy, Parkinson was received by the best families and was greatly assisted by Russian officialdom throughout his journey from St. Petersburg as far east as Tobolsk and then back to St. Petersburg via Astrakhan and the Crimea. Parkinson's dispassionate if somewhat repetitious and disorganized diaries focus on the activities of the court and wellborn society in St. Petersburg and Moscow, but they also include good descriptions of his provincial tour, especially of the dwellings and customs of the non-Russian population of Siberia, the Caucasus, and the Crimea. As might be expected from an accomplished traveler but one not too familiar with the country and its language, Parkinson details the externals of Russian life—food, dress, balls, palaces, gossip, and so on. He offers few reflections upon the internal workings of Russian society and its institutions aside from those furnished by his acquaintances, who were usually from the English community in St. Petersburg. The challenging insights and generalizations of a Custine are not present. Mr. William Collier has done a diligent job of editing the diaries, providing the reader with a brief introduction on Parkinson, a useful map of his trip, and, most important, biographical notes on nearly all the numerous personages mentioned. One regrets, however, that Collier did not explain, particularly for the nonspecialist, the diaries' many references to major internal developments like Catherine's provincial reforms of 1775.

Limited though their accounts may be, both Custine and Parkinson offer much to the student of Russian history. Hence we must be thankful to Professor Kennan for deepening our appreciation of Custine's work and to Mr. Collier for making Parkinson's diaries available.

ALLEN SINEL
University of British Columbia

EDWARD HALLETT CARR and R. W. DAVIES. *Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926–1929*. Volume 1, parts 1 and 2. (A History of Soviet Russia.) New York: Macmillan Company, 1969; 1971. Pp. xv, 452; 453–1023. $12.50 each.

This is a very long book, crammed with information and examining a great range of issues in economic policy and performance in this

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crucial period for the creation of the Soviet planned economy. There are eleven chapters on agriculture, four on industry, six on labor, seven on trade and distribution, three on finance, and seven on planning. In its approximately one thousand pages the book manages to cover not only the familiar major themes—relations with the peasants, the debate on planning and industrialization strategy, the decision to force the pace to the utmost—but other less dramatic and less familiar ones as well, such as land tenure, rationing, migration, social insurance, policy toward cooperatives, and details of industrial organization. Economists will be able to think of only isolated events or questions that might have deserved more treatment—the 1926 census (and indeed the whole role of the Central Statistical Administration), the training of economists, or what happened to rent as an economic institution. For anyone like myself, who has never had a systematic exposure to the literature of those years, this book is an invaluable aid in getting people and issues cataloged and chronologies straightened out and in helping one to see how all these elements fit together. For in addition to its comprehensiveness, the book manages reasonably well to show how the various controversies were related to each other and also to convey the dynamics of their interaction as the decision to reject NEP and begin the process of forced industrialization matured.

The biggest section, of course, is on agriculture, and one of the most intriguing achievements of that section is the way it concretizes the proposition that agricultural policy was complicated by the fact that in Russia the modernization of agriculture that had already taken place in Western Europe was incomplete at the time of the revolution. But it was in progress, with an internal dynamics of its own, and the Soviet leaders were constantly worried whether it could be completed in a way that would not inevitably strengthen capitalist tendencies. They had to decide whether the *mir* and other institutions of communal control were an aid to socialization or a refuge for *kulaks*, whether government actions regarding cooperatives, mechanization, credit, and size of holding, so important for raising productivity in agriculture, could be used to strengthen socialism.

It is a weakness of the book, perhaps, that it sticks very close to the sources and the record. As Carr makes clear in his introduction, he conceives the historian's job here to be one of following the debates over economic policy, delineating the issues, expounding the arguments on each side, knowing who, and what organizations, spoke out for what. In accordance with this objective the book is richly garnished with long quotations and paraphrases from speeches, documents, and articles. But the book might have made a bigger contribution if it had been less thorough in the reportage and taken its own direction more often in defining and investigating some of the issues. The work is unnecessarily handicapped by virtually ignoring all the other Western research done on this period; references to non-Soviet sources and interpretations are almost nonexistent. One can understand the authors' caution toward the danger of imposing preconceived ideas on this mass of material. Nevertheless it would have been useful in some cases to take as a point of departure some of the questions and interpretations others have offered concerning some of the puzzles of this period. For example, the book's treatment of the grain crisis seems somewhat anemic after the discussion that Jerzy Karcz initiated. And it is interesting that despite its detailed coverage, the book neither does much to alter the commonly held views of how the transition to a planned economy was made, nor to explain some of the intriguing and unresolved questions about it. I would have enjoyed a little more speculation on some of these.

For instance, the section on planning provides a fascinating review of the process by which the initial draft of the First Five-Year Plan got revised ever upward in a kind of competition between Vesenkha and Gosplan. But we do not get much of an idea of how the planners and economists involved in this drama rationalized it to themselves. How did someone like Vainshtein or Groman, who saw very well the unrealism of the goals, continue to participate in it? Even Strumilin, who in general took the teleological line, knew that there were some fortresses that Bolsheviks could not storm, but acceded to more and more ambitious targets. These men's doubts were certainly well founded, as subsequent experience showed, and

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one wonders to what extent the planners really got caught up in the enthusiasm of the time and to what extent they simply abandoned professional scruples and became lackeys of brute political compulsion. In general the book does not do much to convey the human drama that the industrialization decision involved, as we realize all the more by contrast with some other incidents recounted, as in the discussion of how Tomskii was crushed in the struggle over the role of the trade unions.

A second such issue is the decision to use force on the peasants—this is left as obscure as ever. Indeed this book heightens the perplexity I have always felt about this matter by its detailed demonstration that all the party leaders had accepted Lenin's conclusion that the future of the revolution depended on the *smychka* with the peasants. Even the members of the opposition and those whom one thinks of as hardliners in other respects—Dzerzhinsky, Trotsky, Smilga—all shared a seemingly sincere conviction that use of force against the peasants was inadmissible. Even Preobrazhensky, despite his view that the peasant must be exploited, seems to have been convinced that this would have to be done in a way that did not involve a direct assault against the mass of the peasantry. Moreover, as Carr and Davies show clearly, when the grain crises of 1927–28 drove the leaders to forget this lesson of the war communism period, it was dramatically demonstrated all over again. This volume stops short of the date when collectivization actually began, but certainly does nothing to show that a shift of opinion was taking place toward some rationally arguable position that could accept the implications of the superindustrialization plan for the crucial relationship with the peasants.

One cannot help wondering in connection with both these issues how the rank-and-file party members saw these controversies and how they reacted to them. They must have followed the discussions in which responsible and respected leaders and experts indicated doubts about the plan; they had studied Lenin's ideas on the *smychka* and through the struggle with the Left opposition had been instructed in the convictions of the current leadership about its importance. It was these people who knew at first hand from the experience of carrying out the repressive methods of grain collection in 1927–28 what a direct assault on the peasants meant. It seems to me that at the end of the twenties Stalin was objectively wrong and the moderates were right on these fundamental issues. One wonders why the moderates seemed so impotent in rousing any lower level support for their views. It is intriguing that Roy Medvedev, desperately trying to understand why Soviet society took this fateful wrong turning, seems to feel that the moderates deserve some blame. Perhaps the question of how general party opinion tended on these issues will become clearer in the volume on politics in 1926–29, which Carr has promised, but this is one point where economic and political questions are inseparable, and the authors' effort to explain this turn in economic policy remains incomplete.

ROBERT W. CAMPBELL
Indiana University, Bloomington

ANTONY C. SUTTON. *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1930 to 1945*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1971. Pp. xxiv, 401. $12.50.

The massive infusion of advanced Western technology is a prime explanation for Soviet economic growth during the early Five-Year Plans. This is the thesis of this interesting and important book, the second in a three-volume study. Western aid from 1930 to 1945 was much greater than during the 1920s and took the form of technical assistance agreements rather than concessions. Under these agreements Western firms, mainly American and German, undertook to design, construct, equip, and help to start a large number of key industrial plants in priority sectors. These were the "giants" of the First Five-Year Plan. Dr. Sutton's findings accord with Stalin's quoted statement that about two-thirds of the large industrial enterprises were built with American help. Indeed, Dr. Sutton posits an "inability hypothesis"—that the Soviet Union could not have launched a successful industrialization effort without Western assistance. The author finds a strong, positive association between the growth of output in individual industries and the extent of Western technical aid.

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Although the technical assistance agreements were most important, the Soviets also obtained Western technology by extensive industrial copying and acquisition of technical literature. The study includes evidence on the manner in which concession agreements were liquidated and the extent to which the technical assistance agreements were honored. Also considered is the large role played by lend-lease during World War II in keeping the Soviet industrial plant afloat and modern and in providing a basis for rapid recovery after 1945.

While scholars have recognized the role played by Western firms in early Soviet economic development, the scale and significance of this factor have been underestimated. Dr. Sutton presents a wealth of detailed information from primary sources with meticulous care for documentation. The evidence will serve both to correct underestimates of the role of Western technology in fueling the Soviet industrialization take-off and to provide important technical detail for use in studies of individual industries.

The book is marred in places by a somewhat polemical style; the facts should have been allowed to speak for themselves. The general analysis of the role of technological transfers in economic development is less satisfactory. In the Soviet case the technical evidence provided in this study needs to be integrated with trade, investment, production, and other data available for the period. The "inability hypothesis" needs further testing. Ability or lack of it aside, the Soviets clearly made the rational choice of adopting the quickest and cheapest method —to obtain experienced assistance and the latest plant and equipment from the West.

GERTRUDE E. SCHROEDER
University of Virginia

LOREN R. GRAHAM. *Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xii, 584, xvi. $15.00.

This interesting and well-written book offers a philosophical analysis of seven areas of modern scientific development in the Soviet Union: quantum mechanics, relativity theory, cosmology and cosmogony, genetics, the origin of life, structural chemistry, cybernetics, and the relationship of physiology to psychology. Most of these topics have already been discussed in the West, some with more competence and in more significant detail. Professor Graham's contribution lies primarily in bringing together the diffuse Western criticism of the ideological interference with scientific development in the Soviet Union and in making a careful effort to elevate the discussion above the customary emotional and propagandistic involvement. The author has been guided by the idea that "as a philosophy of science, dialectical materialism has been significant in the Soviet Union, not in promoting or hindering fields of science as a whole, but rather in subtle areas of interpretation" (p. 8).

Professor Graham has sought to transcend the Western overconcern with the ideological dimension of the Soviet philosophy of science; he has tried "to emphasize the more philosophically interesting, rather than politically dramatic aspects of the relation between Soviet philosophy and science" (p. 434). Although he does not like the word "ideology," which does not appear in the index, he readily admits that his book is the result of a study of Soviet scientific and philosophical works "written at times of varying political pressures"—that he has been attuned to the vicissitudes in the relationship of ideology to science.

Despite the author's stated intention to avoid ideological discussion, ideology is the central notion of his book: he has examined only those scientific theories and orientations that have figured prominently in ideological debates and party interference. Indeed he has little use for the sciences that have been spared from overt and readily discernible ideological entanglement. For example, he completely ignores mathematics—the queen of Soviet science—because of its minimal, and too subtle, ideological involvement. The same goes for many other sciences ranging from crystallography to microbiology.

Professor Graham views philosophy only inasmuch as it serves as a bridge between science and ideology. He completely overlooks several branches of the philosophy of science that have been relatively isolated from ideology. For example, he fully ignores the logic of scientific inquiry, an area that at the present time represents the highest level of Soviet philosophical sophistication. The philosophy of mathematics,

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one of the subtlest and most erudite branches of Soviet philosophy, has managed to stay aloof from ideology and, for that reason, has escaped Professor Graham's attention. In general, by relying on ideology as a criterion for selecting the topics of discussion, he has concentrated on the institutional weaknesses of Soviet science.

An excellent guide to the intricacies and subtleties of Soviet ideology, the book draws only a limited picture of the interaction of Soviet science and philosophy. The author has presented more names than ideas and has made no effort to rise above the interaction of philosophy and specific problems of selected sciences. Chapters on structural chemistry and cosmology should have been omitted for, as they now stand, they add very little to the understanding either of Soviet science or of Soviet philosophy. Despite its fragmentary nature, its elementary philosophical stance, and its rather naive suggestions to Soviet scientists on how to make dialectical materialism more responsive to the needs of modern science, the book contains many interesting and challenging statements elucidating the unique features of the intellectual climate in which the Soviet philosophers and scientists work. A careful reader of this well-researched volume will be able to recognize an important trend in the evolution of the relationship of Soviet philosophy to science since the waning days of Stalin's reign. Under Stalin, the function of philosophy was to run a constant campaign of ideological purification in the house of science; since the early 1960s the function of philosophy has been to make Soviet ideology—and dialectical materialism as its philosophical code—more responsive to, and tolerant of, the needs of modern science.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH
University of Texas, Austin

SVEN ALLARD. *Russia and the Austrian State Treaty: A Case Study of Soviet Policy in Europe*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1970. Pp. 248. $7.95.

Sven Allard was Sweden's minister to Vienna when the Austrian State Treaty was concluded in 1955. As a friend of State Secretary Bruno Kreisky, Allard was something of a participant observer in the negotiations that led to the settlement. This is what he details in his memoirs and reflections (the subtitle, *A Case Study,* is something of a misnomer). Fewer than one hundred pages deal directly with the Austrian negotiations; but these do contain interesting details, based largely on Allard's conversations with Soviet diplomats and Austrian officials and on his occasional role as an intermediary.

Why, after years of stalemate and stubborn refusal to budge, did Moscow in the spring of 1955 display uncommon speed and flexibility in driving toward agreement, dropping its earlier demands and accepting the proclamation of Austria's neutrality, which it had earlier scorned? Allard argues cogently that the shift was not due to outside pressure, but primarily to a basic change in the Soviet foreign policy line coincident with Khrushchev's ascendancy. The author might have pointed to the simultaneous Soviet efforts to improve relations with Finland, West Germany, Yugoslavia, and Japan.

There remains the problem of the relative weight of domestic factors (Khrushchev's dynamism victorious over Molotov's *rigor mortis* diplomacy) and foreign pressures and constraints (Soviet efforts to forestall the adherence of France and West Germany to NATO). Allard correctly stresses the dissimilarity of the Austrian and German problems. On balance, Austria's place in the NATO controversy seems marginal at best.

Unfortunately, Allard devotes considerable space to a reiteration of the familiar "protracted conflict" view of Soviet policy. He keeps reminding the reader that "concessions" are, to Soviet political strategists, no more than tactical devices that do not weaken their commitment to global objectives. It is a thankless task for him to show that the Soviet withdrawal from Austria was meant to "further the expansion of the world communist movement." While it does not greatly affect his account of the negotiations to which he was privy, this broader perspective remains, at best, unproven and superfluous for a parsimonious interpretation. It is misleading insofar as the author insists on its continued relevance for Soviet behavior.

ALEXANDER DALLIN
Stanford University

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NEAR EAST

M. A. SHABAN. *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xxii, 181. $14.50.

M. A. SHABAN. *Islamic History, A.D. 600–750 (A.H. 132): A New Interpretation*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 196. $10.50.

In recent years there have been fewer specialists writing about the period of Islamic history from the death of the Prophet to the 'Abbāsid revolution. Readers have thus tended to rely on the standard works of Wellhausen, Becker, Gibb, Dennett, and others. The two works here reviewed are attempts at a remedy, for they draw on a number of recent studies and propose some new interpretations.

Growing out of the author's Ph.D. thesis, *The Abbāsid Revolution* is a summary of the political relations between the Arabs and their governors in Khurasan, and the caliphate from the time of the first Muslim expedition there in 651 until the establishment of the 'Abbāsid caliphate in 750. Though the last chapter of the work reviews developments leading up to the revolution and including the distinctive role of Abu Muslim and the Khurasanis, the work is not directly a study of all the factors leading to that revolution. In his discussion of sources the author suggests the utility of a number of works he used in addition to the standard ones. He identifies one manuscript as a copy of a work of ibn A'tham reporting directly accounts of al-Mada'ini (d. 839); and the author suggests that al-Mada'ini's accounts known through other works may be better interpreted. Other little-known sources are also discussed. Nevertheless as indicated by the footnotes (and in spite of the jacket blurb) the principal arguments of the work must rely mainly on already known and accessible sources.

Though the author reviews briefly some conclusions of other writers and suggests where they went astray in their interpretations, he is not able to take the time to analyze the arguments of some of those writers and to discuss fully precisely what they were saying. Particularly Wellhausen's arguments, a number of which indeed want correcting, could have been better summarized. No writers of stature today equate Shī'ism and Iranians nor analyze in terms of simplistic Semitic-Iranian racism. And yet neither the Arabistic nor the Persophile Islamic historian has satisfactorily accounted for the Arabized and Islamized "Iranian cultural revival" under the Transoxanian Samanids three centuries after the Prophet's death; nor have the Islamic literary and philosophical works of the intervening period, especially under the early 'Abbāsids, been satisfactorily related (or shown to be unrelated) to that revival.

The author commences *The 'Abbāsid Revolution* with a discussion of the geographical and political situation of Khurasan at the time of the first conquests; he then proceeds to discuss in succeeding chapters the later political developments with an eye to social and economic factors such as the problem of Arab settlement around Merv. In various places he suggests how apparently conflicting statements may be understood. His thesis is unexceptionable: the importance of understanding the relation of political control of Khurasan (and other provinces by implication) in the struggles of the Umayyad caliphs to build centralized bureaucratic controls and to develop a viable basis of power. The centrifugal tendencies at work, particularly as represented by the tribesmen, are well illustrated by the Khurasani situation, though unique factors were also present in that province. He shows that instead of larger unitary blocs of tribesmen groups began to form having at least for the moment mutual interests; and that, as the governors and finally the Umayyad caliphs were forced to rely on one or another of these basically unstable coalitions, they were willy-nilly caught up in them and hence lost control of a stable basis of support. On the whole the narrative of the work is tightly written and well argued; there is not space here for a specific review of each of the author's arguments. When placed in context of the pains of the quickly growing empire and the increasing need for its consolidation, his discussion of al-Hajjaj's policies, Qutayba's revolt, and Sulayman's failure to maintain his predecessors' policies is persuasive. Al-Hajjaj, 'Abd al-Malik, and Walid saw the situation one way; yet Sulayman could not himself be master and try simply to follow their footsteps, particularly when to do so appeared in fact to be leading to certain blow-up. The change represented by the accession of 'Umar II is proof of

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the author's contention. Here and there he suggests that interests other than political are at work, though he seldom discusses them. Even the appeal of Alid loyalism is principally understood in a political context, for he bases his analysis on various conceptions of the groups of the role of Amir al-Mu'minin as head of the Muslim community, and he says little about such opposition in other provinces than Khurasan, nor does he discuss the diffuse but important pious opposition to the Umayyads among legal circles.

Unfortunately there are a number of misprinted dates, which, however, can usually be easily restored contextually. *The 'Abbāsid Revolution* is an important work for anyone who wishes to gain an insight into the relations of the emerging central government with Khurasan.

Islamic History, . . . A New Interpretation seems less tightly handled. Again the title includes more than the contents. The work is a discussion of the constantly changing relationships between the conquering Arab tribesmen and their interactions in the various provinces on the one hand, and, on the other, the developing centralizing Islamic "government" that was attempting to exert its will everywhere. That focus, already suggested in *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, is indeed a key for understanding many of the events of the period, but the author does not discuss relationships to these of other influences: religious or idealistic motives, cultural developments, or relationships with the Byzantines. The political developments he does trace are, he believes, motivated practically exclusively by economic considerations. The work is outspokenly revisionist. Again there is no space for a detailed analysis of the arguments made. I have indicated elsewhere that two of the author's unique interpretations are outstanding: the term "qurrā'," usually understood by both the Muslim chroniclers and modern students as "Qur'an Reciters" (pietists who fought on both sides at Siffin and who formed the genesis of the later pious opposition to the Umayyads) he reads as a corruption of "qurrā"—"people of the villages," that is, Arab tribesmen who wanted to hold on to the Iraqi villages they felt were theirs by right of conquest. Hence he sees seventh-century Khariji (ex-*qurrā'*) activity as a continuation of that desire. Second, he sees "Qays" and "Yemen" as terms to be understood not in the sense of north and south Arabian divisions but as representing the polarization of those tribesmen who stood for Arab-Muslim hegemony unmixed with the conquered peoples (Qays), and those who admitted assimilation with the conquered (Yemen).

REUBEN W. SMITH
University of Chicago

ROBERT L. DANIEL. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820–1960*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 322. $10.00.

This well-written book is further evidence of the gratifying interest of young scholars in American relations with the Near and Middle East. It is a painstaking but readable account of private American efforts of a charitable nature, from the relief work of Samuel Gridley Howe in Greece in the 1820s to the projects of the Near East Foundation in the 1950s. Since philanthropy came to the area in the wake of evangelism, much of the book deals with missions. Whatever the reader's view of the missionary enterprise, he will be obliged to admit that it produced some striking personalities, among them Eli Smith, who designed an Arabic script for printing, and Homan Hallock, the master printer of the Beirut mission who cast the type for it. Even more remarkable, perhaps, was the career of Cyrus Hamlin of Bebek Seminary (later Robert College). Hamlin was an inspired tinkerer who could make anything work, a valuable quality in the technologically innocent Middle East. Daniel handles Hamlin's mechanical triumphs effectively; indeed, the author's picture of Hamlin is more pleasing than that of the missionary's own autobiography, whose boasting turns the reader off.

Philanthropy was never the intent but merely the outgrowth of evangelism. The mission schools were handicapped by the lack of auxiliary services such as medicine, hospitals, and printing. Moreover, the missionaries realized that purely evangelical teaching restricted their influence to local Protestant minorities. Broadening the curriculum made the missionaries' work available to a wider segment of the population and led eventually to a measure of secularization in their institutions and the

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emergence of one of them, the American University of Beirut, as the leading educational center of the region. An adequate account of such diverse efforts over so wide an area runs the risk of stupefying rather than enlightening the reader, but Professor Daniel has succeeded admirably in being exhaustive without being exhausting.

I have only two complaints. The statement on page 116 that "later evidence" showed the Armenians to be more the aggressors than the Turks in the massacres of 1894–95 requires some suggestion of what the later evidence was. Daniel should also be aware of the strong pro-Turkish bias of conservative British opinion, which probably accounts for such an extraordinary charge. I must also take strong exception to the characterization of Admiral Bristol as "even-handed." Callous, garrulous, and bigoted are the appropriate adjectives. I would as soon call Stalin evenhanded.

These objections should not obscure the worth of a book that seems destined to be—and deserves to be—the standard work on its subject.

JAMES B. GIDNEY
Kent State University

AFRICA

AMRY VANDENBOSCH. *South Africa and the World: The Foreign Policy of Apartheid.* [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. viii, 303. $8.50.

Domestically, and in its foreign relations, South Africa poses a difficult dilemma for Western countries, particularly for the United States and the United Kingdom. In both these countries there is a strongly felt abhorrence for the discriminatory racial policies that South Africa buttresses with a complicated paraphernalia of laws. Yet both the United Kingdom and the United States have long-standing trade and financial relations with South Africa that appear to be expanding under the stimulus of high returns of profit. While these relations might seem to provide means of exerting influence on South Africa to relax its discriminatory practices against its black population and indeed are sometimes justified as providing channels for so doing, there is little if any evidence that in practice they have had such an effect. Condemnation in the United Nations and, when still a member, in the Commonwealth has had no more effect, however, and no major power has shown signs of willingness to back up its criticism with any forceful measures. Hence the dilemma remains, a source of political embarrassment to the West and of impotent fury to most of the non-Western world.

In his detailed and carefully presented work, *South Africa and the World: The Foreign Policy of Apartheid,* Professor Amry Vandenbosch of Kentucky University follows step by step the debates within the ruling white minority over what lines of foreign policy should be followed to maximize South Africa's external contacts without endangering its internal racial policy. The first part of his presentation is chronological and of particular interest in its reminder that South African politicians of all political persuasions have always been concerned over potential danger from the north. In this perspective the advantages to South Africa of both its "outward thrust" and "dialogue" with certain African-controlled states are clearly manifest. The more topical chapters that follow on subjects like South Africa's withdrawal, or, as he says, "expulsion" from the Commonwealth in 1961 and on the position of Indians in South Africa and Southwest Africa are necessarily scanty and do not break fresh ground. It is convenient, however, to have the long sweep of South Africa's external relations treated in a single volume to match the far more common book-length studies of South Africa's domestic policies.

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER
Northwestern University

ASIA AND THE EAST

BRIAN E. MCKNIGHT. *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 219. $10.00.

The period from the mid-tenth to the mid-thirteenth century, or the period before the Mongols, was a great divide in the long history of Sung China. There was a well-regulated civil service, analyzed in the pioneering work of E. A. Kracke, Jr.; amazing urbanization witnessed by Marco Polo, vividly described by a French scholar (Jacques Gernet), and recently seen by President Nixon at Hangchou, the southern

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Sung capital; and expanding trade, amply shown by a Japanese scholar, Yoshinobu Shiba, whose work has an abridged English translation by Mark Ervin. This period, frequently discussed for its fine arts and often mentioned for its Neo-Confucianism and Zen Buddhism, was neither feudal, despotic, nor "early modern" as some textbooks put it but a "neo-traditional" stage of development with new, infoliating growth rooted in China's ancient heritage that went on without drastic changes in its basic structure until the nineteenth century. This case is an indispensable one in comparative studies on the background of modernization. Yet, because much of the historical sources centered around the imperial government, the great cities, and remarkable activities such as trading and so on, present-day scholarship likewise barely touches the tip of a huge iceberg. At least eighty per cent of the Sung population, probably over one hundred millions, had little to do with the local government office within the city walls except through its agents: the native clerical subbureaucracy and a variety of service personnel. Our ignorance of this reality is now much reduced thanks to this admirable publication. The author demonstrates the same fine qualities he has learned from his master, Professor Kracke: research meticulously carried out, detailed findings concisely depicted, broad generalizations modestly drawn, and bibliography in Chinese and Japanese language aided by short annotations.

Apart from a very few technical points that might be in dispute, the significance of this valuable book goes beyond Sinology. In early Sung the local service personnel were drafted for limited terms without pay; by late Sung they were selected from the clerks and their sons or other relatives who were prepared to take on the task and be paid for it as a profession. Their normal remuneration came from earmarked funds or local assessments and their extralegal income from corrupting and abusive practices within the customary bounds loosely supervised by scholar-official magistrates appointed by the imperial government. The shift from requisitioned service to paid professional service reflected a basic change. The author believes that Chinese society from then on became more open than before, in the sense that status was no longer the only class distinction when wealth became recognized as a separate variable. Though in basic agreement, I would not go quite that far. It was a change from ascriptive status of the previous aristocratic eras to achieved status, but the politically achieved status, chiefly that of the civil servants or scholar-officials, still far outranked the economically achieved status based on wealth. Nor does the Weberian dichotomy—ascription versus achievement—fit well in China's case. Since society continued to be strongly status oriented, the achieved status took on the characteristics of the previous ascriptive kind.

Congratulations to the author lead to the hope that he will in future researches relate his major finding—the structural stability of the Chinese village and its subbureaucracy—to two much broader questions that are paradoxically related to one another: how did the stability break down during rebellions, and how was it revived when order was restored under the same dynasty or a new one that applied the same system?

JAMES T. C. LIU
Princeton University

SHIGERU NAKAYAMA. *A History of Japanese Astronomy: Chinese Background and Western Impact.* (Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series, Volume 18. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 329. $10.00.

The uniqueness of Japan's geographical and historical position as a meeting place of the Chinese and Western intellectual traditions gives this first comprehensive history of Japanese astronomy an appeal which transcends the confines of that country and that subject. The author recognizes three distinct cultural phases characterized by the domination of Chinese influence from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries (pt. 1), its confrontation with that from the West about 1600 to 1720 (pt. 2), and the deliberate policy of westernization which was fully effective by 1880 (pt. 3). The specific objectives of his scholarly and original work are "to describe Japanese adaptation of traditional Chinese astronomy . . . and to examine Japanese reception of the cosmologic schemes, mechanistic philosophies, and astronomical techniques developed in Europe before and after the Scientific Revolution," there being no evi-

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dence of any reciprocal influence from within Japan upon the main currents of world scientific thought.

In his discussion of Chinese influences the author contrasts the scope and purpose of astrology and astronomy by stressing the association of the former with irregular or exceptional phenomena and the latter with regular periodically recurrent ones. The criterion of predictability is therefore the fundamental methodological distinction between the art of judicial and horoscopic astrology and the scientific technique of calendar making, which used to constitute two major departments of the hereditary Office of the Grand Astrologer in China and of the closely analagous Yin-Yang Board in Japan. Lunar and solar eclipses, once they were seen to be predictable, played little part in astrological prognostications; whereas they were occasionally used to provide observational checks upon the accuracy of the lunisolar calendar that was adopted as the basis of civil time-reckoning in Japan until the beginning of the present century. However, the high frequency of calendrical reforms both in China and in Japan owed less to astronomical tests than to the belief of oriental rulers that their mandate to govern was received from heaven; hence that changes which they imposed in their kingdoms ought to be reflected in the pattern of celestial events.

The third major aspect of Chinese astronomy, which was destined to have little influence in Japan prior to the eighteenth century, was cosmology. The author's reconstruction of two ancient cosmological traditions (see ch. 4) reveals that they were almost completely uninfluenced by the rather sophisticated algebraic techniques employed in astrology and calendrical calculations. There is an interesting parallel here with Aristotelian physical cosmology and Ptolemaic mathematical astronomy in the West; an essential difference being that planetary motions do not form part of the cosmological scheme. The absence of a unified geometric conception prevented the Japanese from developing a rational cosmology as was achieved in the West and from recognizing that the presence of the planets does indeed affect the accuracy of their lunisolar calendar. Japanese translations (via Dutch) of extremely popular works like George Adams's treatise on the Copernican system and John Keill's introduction to Newtonian physics and astronomy became available only at the end of the eighteenth century and could not be fully understood in isolation from the cultural environment that had given them birth. This latter problem coupled with the linguistic barrier, and not religious opposition, was primarily responsible for the time lag in the transmission of the numerous Jesuit scientific treatises that began filtering into Japan following the relaxation in 1720 of an earlier governmental ban imposed upon them.

The only way for the Japanese to benefit fully from the advantages of Western civilization was to develop new trading links, to establish educational institutions that would promote Western ideas, and to become fully involved in world scientific affairs. The author makes no reference to Commodore Matthew Perry's gunboat diplomacy in the nineteenth-century westernization of Japan; he seems rather to regard this process as a conscious political choice of a pathway to progress which recognized the superiority of Western scientific and technical development over that of the Chinese. The fact that none of the existing philosophies of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintoism had either contributed to or hindered the advancement of science—in marked contrast to the role of the Church in Western Europe—was of immense psychological significance in enabling the Japanese to adapt their civilization quickly to the new demands imposed by this joint scientific and industrial revolution without abandoning their cultural heritage or their national identity.

Being very heavily documented by Chinese, Japanese, and Western language sources, this nicely illustrated and well-produced work is full of novel and interesting details. It can be warmly recommended not only to specialists who want to know more about the technical aspects of Chinese and Japanese astronomy discussed in the text and in the ten appendixes but also to historians of ideas interested in the question of how far the structure of Western science is founded upon physical laws embodying some absolute truth or merely upon relative norms emergent from our own indebtedness to the Greco-Roman tradition.

ERIC G. FORBES
University of Edinburgh

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GEORGE M. BECKMANN *et al. Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*. Edited by JAMES WILLIAM MORLEY. (Studies in the Modernization of Japan, Number 6.) Princeton: Princeton University Press for the Conference on Modern Japan of the Association for Asian Studies. 1971. Pp. ix, 527. $12.50.

This volume marks the final collection of articles from the Conference on Modern Japan of the Association for Asian Studies. It concentrates on the two pre–World War II decades and the shift from the modernization trail blazed during the Meiji period. These interwar years are manifestly treated as a "dark valley of Japanese experience," a time of disenchantment and failure. Attention is riveted to the question "What went wrong?" as the authors elucidate dynamics of stalling growth processes and the nation's drift into military domination and the disastrous Pacific War.

In his introduction Professor Morley defines the relevance of this experience for determining an acceptable concept of modernization. He provides an incisive précis of historical scholarship and summarizes thematic approaches of modernization studies. Citing certain basic growth trends for the period, Morley notes that economically productivity showed growth over time, but not uniformly; that socially there was growing equality but probably less individuation; and that intellectually rational secular thought retrogressed increasingly to irrationality.

Ten substantive articles divided into political and military, economic and social, and intellectual sections follow and tend to support prevailing explanations in terms of a syndrome of faltering parliamentary democracy. They also serve as heuristic sources suggesting new avenues of investigation and interpretation and are a stimulating basis for conducting fruitful binational collaborative researches. Robert A. Spaulding shows how revisionist bureaucrats allied with militarists and provided much legalistic ingenuity and substantive thought for Japan's move to the right. Chihiro Hosoya emphasizes foreign policymakers' failure to halt the disintegration of communications and decision-making structures. Akira Iriye illustrates the military's failure to comprehend the interrelatedness of the China War, the Southeast Asia question, and American policy. George Beckmann recounts the left-wing's defeat by the power structure. Ronald Dore and Tsutomu Ōuchi ask why there was not stronger resistance to the army, and they conclude that Japan's unique rural collectivist ideal was a transcendent moral authority thwarting individualism, the major source of opposition. Hugh Patrick criticizes leaders for an inconsistent deflationary policy that stifled economic growth. Arthur Tiedemann indicates *zaibatsu* desire for a friendly environment but their noninvolvement in solving social problems. James B. Crowley examines the internationalist Showa Research Association intellectuals who ran afoul of parochial national interest crusaders. Tetsuo Najita analyzes Nakano Seigo and the Meiji Restoration spirit revival theme for promoting national unity and direction. Peter Duus's study of liberal defector Ōyama Ikuo illustrates how fumbling parliamentary processes brought disillusionment to intellectuals attracted to democratic political ideals.

In the concluding section Kentarō Hayashi's speculative comparison of Japan and Germany might be more edifying for readers if placed in the introduction. Professor E. O. Reischauer's constructive advocacy of alternative questions and approaches to this failure thesis is quite convincing. While conceding that these researches seem to indicate "a broad causal relationship between imbalanced growth and eventual instability," he also offers the caveat that for now we must view these articles as suggestive until we learn more about what happened. Yet there is much in this book that seems destined to prove seminal for ascertaining precisely what did happen. *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* merits very careful reading.

G. RALPH FALCONERI
University of Oregon

GEOFFREY SERLE. *The Rush to Be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1883–1889*. [Carlton:] Melbourne University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 392. $9.90.

Dr. Serle's pioneer study of colonial Victoria in the 1880s is a painstaking, thorough, and often brilliant piece of research. He builds on *The Golden Age* (1963), his penetrating study of Victoria in the 1850s, by using the opening chapter of *The Rush to Be Rich* to provide a

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brief and tantalizing bridge between 1860 and 1880. He promises a third volume on the grim 1890s. His main theme, how British migrants and their families built their model of a better England in the Antipodes, is lucidly developed in five sections entitled "Politics," "Economics," "Religion," "Nationality," and "The High Boom Years." He promises more details on education, culture, and feminism in the next volume. He embellishes with an insightful choice of material the final section on a physical description of Melbourne and on sport, art, music, painting, architecture, and the theatre. "Marvellous Melbourne" expanded at the amazing rate of fifty-seven per cent in the decade and, incidentally, had the worst smelling sewers and rivers. Although Melbourne dominates the book, the Western, Wimmera, Mallee, and Gippsland districts receive their due.

Because Victorians in general carelessly destroyed diaries, correspondence, and other papers, Dr. Serle depends on newspaper files, contemporary writings, and government records (particularly parliamentary debates and royal commissions) to bring to life the main personalities, such as politicians like Alfred Deakin, newspapermen like David Syme, judges like George Higinbotham, and preachers like Dr. Charles Strong. In addition, Dr. Serle has made unusually careful use of unpublished B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. theses. Indeed his footnotes are true mines of information, and the appended bibliography is only a selection from these.

Dr. Serle has reached certain conclusions: (1) Politics, though fierce and partisan, were on a higher level than earlier historians have implied. Dr. Serle is to be congratulated for clarifying the intricacies of civil service legislation, the politics of railway construction, and the vagaries of land legislation. (2) In religion he found the bitter rivalries were taken more seriously by the immigrants than by their native-born children, though temperance remained an emotionally charged religious issue for all. (3) In economics Dr. Serle admits that only rough conclusions can be reached regarding the effect of protection on industrial growth. Furthermore he feels that most working men remained untouched by trades unions. (4) Regarding the boom of 1888 he feels that the research on the major scandals by Michael Cannon in *The Land Boomers* (1966) is accurate but that some of his conclusions and inferences need extensive qualification. Dr. Serle shows that the boom was founded on city building and suburban development where houses entered the golden age of jerry building. Even so upright a figure as Deakin allowed his name to be attached to numerous dubious ventures. (5) In treating colonial nationalism Dr. Serle clarifies the divided loyalties of the Scots and the Irish. He also analyzes the Victorian contributions to imperialism in New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and Fiji; to the federation movement; to prejudices against the Chinese; and to the invasion scares provided by Russia and others. He thus places Victorian events in an Australian and even in a British imperial context.

To conclude, the drive to create a "better England" reveals a shoddy materialism in the boom years and a brash complacency in prosperity. Dr. Serle now addresses himself to the inevitable bust that follows such a boom.

SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH
University of California, Irvine

UNITED STATES

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, editor. *The Catholic Priest in the United States: Historical Investigations.* (Committee on Priestly Life and Ministry of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.) Collegeville, Minn.: Saint John's University Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 488. $6.95.

The scope of this volume was determined by its origin. A decree of Vatican Council II directed that the ministry of the priesthood should be adapted "to open new avenues of approach to the modern world." To forward this adaptation the Roman Catholic bishops of the United States in 1967 appointed a "Committee on Priestly Life and Ministry," which in turn authorized sociological, psychological, and historical studies of the American priesthood to provide the committee with factual information. The five "historical investigations" of this volume are based on the assumption that planning for the future involves an understanding of the present that is made possible by a knowledge of the past. Since "the history of the priesthood in the United States has been as

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stormy as the progress of the nation," the historical investigations have lively stories to tell, all based on careful and detailed research.

While each of the essays is highly informative, three are preoccupied with internal affairs and consequently are of more specialized concern and less general interest. "The Formation of the American Priest" by John Tracy Ellis deals with education for priesthood and details the development of theological seminaries, curricular goals, faculty concerns, and the general character of the "priestly formation." "Bishops and Their Priests in the United States" by Robert Trisco is preoccupied with problems of domestic housekeeping, noting that in the endemic conflict between bishops and priests both "invoked the American spirit" to defend their respective rights without conceding anything more than a passive role to the laity. A significant feature of their heated debates seems to have been that the discussion of differences was carried on almost exclusively "in terms of ecclesiastical discipline and not of sacred theology." John P. Marschall's "Diocesan and Religious Clergy: the History of a Relationship" discusses the tension ("the scandal within the family") between the parish clergy who were members of religious orders and those who were not. This dual structure produced competitive claims to superior spirituality and superior practicality as well as conflicts of interest, loyalty, authority, and discipline.

The two essays of wider interest, which deal with issues of concern beyond the scope of the internal life of the Church, are Michael V. Gannon's "Before and After Modernism: The Intellectual Isolation of the American Priest" and David J. O'Brien's "The American Priest and Social Action." The first is a discerning analysis of why "whatever intellectual lamps the clergy lit . . . cast their light in magnificent isolation" and why most of the clergy "did not even have oil for the lamps." The insights of the second essay are equally susceptible of broader application. O'Brien's preoccupation is with the sources that have produced a "new breed" of clergymen and laity who "look beyond the narrow interest of our Catholic body" and address themselves to "the society of which we are a part and the world in which we live."

Although these investigations were undertaken under "official" auspices, each contributor has brought honor to himself and benefit to the scholarly community by adhering strictly to the dictum of an earlier priest historian "to tell the truth whether it made for or against us."

WINTHROP S. HUDSON
University of Rochester

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR. *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 257. $10.00.

J. Leitch Wright's book on the confrontation between the English and the Spanish in North America, specifically the area around the southeastern frontier, from the early sixteenth century up to 1820 is essentially a narrative survey of the subject rather than a monograph. The author, in less than two hundred pages, covers not only the Spanish reaction to the Elizabethan privateers and to the establishment of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, but also the later contests between Spain and England for control of Florida and the Mississippi Valley during the wars for empire and the final retreat of both powers from the area in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Although this study includes almost no new material it is factually accurate and, as a survey, might have been a useful addition to the literature on the subject if Professor Wright had put the familiar events he relates into a meaningful interpretive framework. No such framework is provided, however, and the reader is left to wander from one territorial conflict to another with little guidance from the author. It is possible that one of the reasons the book seems to lack structural coherence is that any broad, general discussion of Anglo-Spanish rivalry in this period cannot logically be confined to just the area of the present-day United States but, to be understandable, must include Latin America. At any rate those interested in the subject will have to look elsewhere for fresh insights into Spanish and English policy during these years.

CAROLE SHAMMAS
University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF. *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596–1728.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 440. $12.50.

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KENNETH SILVERMAN, compiled with commentary by. *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1971. Pp. xxvi, 446. $15.00.

Not so many years ago Cotton Mather was the undisputed scapegoat of the colonial period, widely castigated by historians as the epitome of clerical lust for temporal power, as the instigator of the Salem witchcraft frenzy, and as a case study of the Puritan mind gone sour, overwrought with introspection, religiosity, and hypocrisy. But no longer. Recent studies (e.g., Chadwick Hansen's) have exonerated him of fomenting witchcraft, while other books and articles (e.g., Richard Shryock's) have reminded us of the impressive scientific achievements of a man whose primary commitment lay in theology. And if Peter Gay's harsh indictment of Mather as a "pathetic Plutarch" seemed to reverse the trend, at least Gay took Mather seriously and did not relegate him to the lunatic fringe of colonial society to which he had long been assigned.

Robert Middlekauff's *The Mathers* and Kenneth Silverman's edition of Cotton Mather's letters go a long way toward solidifying the Mather revival. Neither scholar—especially Silverman—has been entirely won over; Mather does not emerge from these volumes on a par, for example, with John Winthrop or Jonathan Edwards or Benjamin Franklin. But Middlekauff and Silverman are clearly in Mather's camp: they admire his intellectual achievements, they recognize his ameliorative role at Salem Village, and they acknowledge the sensitivity with which he confronted the conflicting demands of Puritan theology and New England society. Middlekauff and Silverman find frequent fault with Mather, but they criticize him within his own context not in terms of today or of the Progressive period or of some irrelevant hypothetical standards.

The Mathers is more, of course, than a study of Cotton Mather. Its principal task is to show the evolution of Puritan thought through three generations of remarkable New England divines who not only pondered Puritan theology but who at the same time played active parts in shaping and reshaping the New England Way. This is no lives-and-times biography; it is not even the story of three lives. Rather, Middlekauff means what his subtitle says: "three generations of Puritan intellectuals." Readers will find little or nothing in his pages about most of the important events of New England's first century, but they will find a great deal about the ideas of the Mathers on—to cite some chapter titles—"The Word," "The Church of the Pure," "Chiliasm," "The Psychology of Abasement," and "The Experimental Philosophy."

What Middlekauff's impressive reassessment of the Puritan mind offers is not a refutation of Perry Miller or a new synthesis of the New England mind (it deals, after all, with only three men; as a new synthesis it would be less representative than Miller's) but rather an important corrective to some hoary generalizations that have long been suspect but seldom investigated in depth. Especially valuable is Middlekauff's demonstration of the variety and change within Puritan thought, in sharp contrast to the largely static and monolithic image conveyed by Miller. Significant too are specific revisions in traditional interpretations, such as the insistence that the "errand into the wilderness" explanation for the founding of New England emerged from second generation hindsight rather than first generation foresight. Some readers will not find Middlekauff entirely convincing here; the evidence, I think, supports a more moderate conclusion: that the second generation seized on one of the many strands in the founders' rhetoric and gave it a stature out of proportion to its original role. But at least Middlekauff has jostled our thinking on this and other points. His is a major contribution to our understanding of the ever challenging and ever elusive Puritan mind.

In undertaking so formidable a task Middlekauff inevitably falls somewhat short of the mark. Too seldom does he explain how the Mather under discussion agreed or disagreed with his contemporaries. Too often we are given ideas without quite enough context to weigh them properly. And the book is uneven. Richard and Increase seem mere introductions to Cotton, who is accorded slightly more than half the total space. Nor is the difference merely quantitative—which in part reflects the disparity in source material—but qualitative as well. Cotton alone comes through Middlekauff's pages as a whole figure rather than as a mind in a vacuum. Similarly, Middlekauff's

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style is uneven. He is at times unnecessarily dry and pedantic when probing the minds of the first two Mathers; both author and subject come alive only with the third generation.

Kenneth Silverman helps to keep Mather alive. His edition of Cotton's letters is a major contribution to our understanding of the man, for many of these letters have never before been published and others have appeared only in obscure periodicals. Moreover, Silverman has edited them well, exercising sound criteria of selection and modernization, and has given the reader abundant introductory and interstitial material—though the editor's choice of organization is at times awkward and his annotations are unnecessarily sparse. The only serious shortcomings of the volume lie in Mather's letters themselves, for like his diary, his correspondence is more chaff than grain. But for readers with the stamina to winnow there is ample reward. Mather gives us many glimpses into the New England of his times and into himself as well. There are insights on, among other things, witchcraft, slavery, conversion of the Indians, the Royal Society, typology, toleration, and colonial courtship—Mather style. We don't turn from these pages loving Cotton Mather, but along with most scholars of recent years, including Messrs. Middlekauff and Silverman, we are likely to close the cover with a grudging admiration for the man and his work.

ALDEN T. VAUGHAN
Columbia University

ELISHA P. DOUGLASS. *The Coming of Age of American Business: Three Centuries of Enterprise, 1600–1900.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 606. $15.00.

This book demonstrates the difficulties of writing history without an explicit conceptual framework. The author does suggest an excellent possibility for such a framework in the last paragraph of his introduction. There he indicates that "at the outset of our story . . . all business is carried on in undifferentiated functions by general entrepreneurs." Increasing specialization leads later to "the formation of discrete business institutions." As a result "many entrepreneurial functions merge into managerial specialities, and the firm or industry becomes the focus for business history." Unfortunately Professor Douglass fails to trace the transformation from the entrepreneur and personal business to industrial and managerial enterprise and so deprives himself of a valuable unifying theme for his study.

As a result the book is a collection of descriptive and almost totally unconnected chapters dealing with the activities of American businessmen in several sectors of the economy. It is divided into two parts—the first from the 1780s to the Civil War and the second from the Civil War to 1900. In reality the volume does not cover the years from 1600 to 1900 as the title states; there is only one chapter on business before 1783. Furthermore, the author provides no rationale for making the break at the Civil War. While that is the conventional place to make such breaks in writing American history, Douglass should certainly explain at the end of part 1 why a major turning point in the economy had come. Some evaluation of the developments of the previous sixty years is called for at the very least. Nor does the final chapter of the study attempt to tie the story together. The last chapter is as much a hodgepodge as the volume itself. The following section headings from the concluding chapter (listed here in the order they appear) indicate the book's major weakness: business bureaucrats, businessmen and changing social sanctions, self-defense and self-criticism at the turn of the century, scientific management, the merger movement 1898–1902, criticism of concentration in business, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and the conclusion.

Because he fails to develop a suitable framework, the author is unable to relate the different activities in different sectors of the economy and fails to capture the dynamics of change. Because the break at the Civil War is an artificial one, Douglass overlooks the fundamental changes caused by the great increase in volume and velocity of production and distribution permitted by the coming of the factory, railroad, and telegraph in the 1840s and 1850s—changes that were central to the shift from the entrepreneur to the managerial firm. As he does not appreciate the timing of this development, Douglass often places material on the antebellum period in part 2 (which deals with developments after the Civil War) and describes changes that occurred after the war in

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part 1 (which covers the years before 1860). Thus nearly all of chapters 24 ("Pioneering in Western Transportation") and 26 ("Completion of the Railroad Network"), and almost half of chapter 34 ("Electricity Brings Revolution in Communications"), are concerned with the antebellum period. On the other hand chapter 10 on the specialization of commerce deals largely with the rise of mass merchandizing in the late nineteenth century. The changes in transportation described in the latter part of the book are, of course, essential for understanding the specialization covered two hundred pages earlier. Thus, besides preventing analyses, the lack of a framework often leads to confusion and distortion.

While collectively the chapters do not permit a coherent understanding of the evolution of American business practices and institutions, individually they do perform an important service. They provide the best available brief introductions to American banking, insurance, retailing, fur trade, land speculation, large-scale farming, canals, railroads, telegraph and telephone, and such industries as textiles, lumbering, mining, machinery, oil, and steel. Professor Douglass has read a mass of secondary literature with care and understanding and has presented complex developments with admirable clarity. He has effectively accomplished what he stated to be the purpose of his book—"to bring together as much of the widely variegated literature of American business history as possible in a single narrative covering the formative period of American business."

Even judged as an introductory compendium, the study has limitations. Where the secondary sources are slim (as they are in construction, coal mining, and public utilities), little is said. More serious is the fact that Professor Douglass has not documented the chapters. The relatively full bibliographical notes at the end of the book are of some help; but the reader can never be sure precisely what source of information Professor Douglass is using or whose interpretation is being presented.

Still, anyone who has attempted to plow through the books that Douglass has read will admire his achievements. It is all the more impressive because he took on this task, as he points out in his introduction, with little training in or commitment to business history. Students and scholars in all fields of American history can only be grateful to the author for providing a valuable introduction to so many different topics in the history of American business.

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR.
Harvard University

ROSEMARY STEVENS. *American Medicine and the Public Interest.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 572. $18.50.

This comprehensive account of the evolution of patterns of American medical practice is the second part of a trilogy comparing health care organization in Britain and the United States. The first volume by Professor Stevens dealt with medical practice in modern England, while the concluding part of the study will be devoted to comparisons of health care in the two countries.

The focus of the present work is the tangled web of health care programs in the United States and how they got that way. She begins with an excellent chapter on the professional setting from colonial times to World War I, moves to the growth of specialization in the years from 1900 to 1930, describes the use and acceptance of the specialty boards, and spends the remaining half of the book on the professional structures of American medicine and recent developments in governmental and medical response to weaknesses in the system of delivery of health care.

She makes it clear that the medical system is in a state of crisis and ascribes its urgency to the widening gap between what modern medicine can do for an individual under optimal conditions and what is being done with the present system of delivery of health care. This gap has grown in recent years because of the rapidly rising costs of medical service, the haphazard growth of specialization and its lack of coordination with general practice, a shortage of health personnel, and the political controversies that have slowed the establishment of a rational role for government in the provision of health care.

The historical aspects of the book, while brief, are well done. She has done extensive research into the basic materials of American medicine

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before 1900. She understands that the roots of much of the current confusion about the direction of health care lie in the three hundred years of separatist medical and professional growth before 1900. Only the advent of scientific medicine in Europe, the growth of specialization, and the flocking of young Americans to study in Germany brought America back once more into the mainstream of medical advance. But the structure of nineteenth-century American medicine—the independence of the private practitioner, the proprietary medical schools, the slow growth of hospitals, the strength of local and regional medical societies—carried over into the twentieth century and affected the profession's stand on critical social issues in our recent past. "Out of the long evolution of professionalism in medicine," Professor Stevens argues, "and out of the concurrent definition of the public interest have emerged certain dominant attitudes and patterns which will continue to influence health care development."

The book is well documented and carefully written, with occasional flashes of unusual insight and eloquence. The overall tone is scholarly and academic. I agree for once with the dust-jacket blurb, which quotes Senator Abraham Ribicoff as saying: "This is an indispensable book for anyone who is seriously concerned about how medicine has been practiced in the United States and how it ought to be practiced."

THOMAS N. BONNER
University of New Hampshire

EDWARD T. JAMES *et al.*, editors. *Notable American Women 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary*. Volume 1, *A–F*; volume 2, *G–O*; volume 3, *P–Z*. (Prepared under the auspices of Radcliffe College.) Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. 1, 687; 659; 729. $75.00 the set.

In 1955 Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., ever a friend of women's history, suggested the need for a biographical dictionary of American women patterned after the *Dictionary of American Biography*. A few years thereafter the project was begun under the editorship of Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer, advised by a committee of twenty-seven consultants. After thirteen years, the result of their labors and those of the contributing biographers is *Notable American Women, 1607–1950*, the most scholarly of all female reference works yet published. The well-researched sketches are supported by bibliographies, many of which include manuscripts, and all have been carefully edited to ensure accuracy and uniformity of style. They are more objective than those generally found in earlier compendia of this type and range in length from 400 to 7,000 words, the longest being biographies of Mary Baker Eddy and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Included are sketches of 1,359 women, the largest number having distinguished themselves in literature, while others are remembered for their contributions to education, medicine, public speaking, journalism, fine arts, the performing arts, law, social work, science, business, and industry. Also included are ministers, missionaries, reformers, heroines, martyrs, club leaders, philanthropists, art collectors and critics, explorers, inventors, and librarians. As might be expected in a work of this kind, special attention is given to political activists, feminists, and suffragists, but the opponents of feminism and woman suffrage have not been ignored. Included also are a host of the glamorous such as Carole Lombard, Jean Harlow, and Anna Held and the dynamic and colorful like Mary Louise Cecilia ("Texas") Guinan and Annie Oakley. Among the sensational are the Civil War soldier, Sarah Emma Edmonds, the spies Elizabeth Van Lew and Belle Boyd and among the notorious, the colonial counterfeiter Mary Perk Betterworth, the abortionist Ann Trow Lohman, the proprietors of Chicago's famous brothel Minna and Ada Everleigh, and the bandit Belle Starr. Represented also are black, Indian, and Hawaiian women and those of ethnic groups. With the exception of Virginia Dare, entries include only those living in this country after the founding of Jamestown and dying no later than 1950, this terminal date explaining why many eminent twentieth-century women, including Eleanor Roosevelt, Helen Keller, and Ethel Barrymore are not included.

With such a broad cross-section of women represented, one naturally questions certain omissions. Biographies are included for fifty-two women who distinguished themselves in some way during the Civil War, but many who

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merit recognition have been overlooked. Nothing is said about the most colorful federal spy, Pauline Cushman, or the recipient of the Kearny Cross for nursing, Annie Etheridge Hooks, or the nurse Belle Reynolds, who later took a medical degree, practiced in Illinois and California, and served with the Red Cross in the Philippines. Although a greater number of Northerners than Southerners distinguished themselves outside the home in the nineteenth century, and this dictionary devotes more space to the latter than have previous works relating to American women, many worthy individuals have been omitted. The most sensational of the Confederacy's female soldiers was Loreta Janeta Velasque whose wartime fame rests entirely on her spirited, questionable account that has never been proved or disproved but has been a center of controversy over the years. Since, however, much of her bizarre later life has been documented by a reliable scholar, it seems she therefore merits inclusion as much as other semilegendary figures. Omitted also are the diarist, newspaperwoman, translator, and club leader, Sarah Morgan Dawson, the author, feminist, suffragist, founder, and editor of the *Arkansas Ladies Journal*, Mary Webster Loughborough, and several feminists-reformers-suffragists, two of the more dedicated being Mrs. Lide Meriwether and Elizabeth Avery Meriwether, both of Tennessee.

Volumes of this type are always vulnerable to charges of omissions, but when no more numerous than in *Noted American Women*, they do not appreciably diminish the value of the compilation. Long needed, this publication is especially welcome today when there is an upsurge of interest in women's history. The introduction written by Janet Wilson James provides a provocative, informative survey of the role of women in United States history, and the biographies reveal more than incidents in the lives of individuals. One learns much about women in general, including their ability to carry on a variety of activities simultaneously, the tendency of many to become professional reformers and club women, and the determination of an impressive number to win respect and advance the cause of their sex through diligence and perseverance rather than agitation. I am sure the editors' expectation will be realized and the biographies will indeed "direct the attention of researchers to some new areas of investigation in women's history" (p. xii).

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY
Winthrop College

STEPHEN FOSTER. *Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England.* (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 94) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1971. Pp. xxii, 214. $7.50.

Stephen Foster's study of the Puritan social ethic in the first hundred years of New England society is admirable for its intention to deal "with norms and normative behaviour, that is, with the 'ought' of a particular society" and for its exploration of "the imperatives, aspirations, and inhibitions which collectively comprised the way a seventeenth-century New Englander thought he ought to act toward other seventeenth-century New Englanders when they came together in an organized civil society" (p. xi). The first part, consisting of two chapters on "Order" and on "Love," is the core of the analysis, exploring in detail the Puritan's concern for hierarchy, subordination, relationships between the levels of the social order, charity and harmony, and the tribalism that drew sharp boundaries between people within and without the social order. As far as the analysis goes, everyone concerned with New England society will be indebted to Foster's succinct delineation of the social ethnic.

Unfortunately his analysis of the norms of this society does not go far enough. One major theme is touched upon only in passing despite its centrality for New Englanders both in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries: the organic community and society. With the proliferation of community studies it is imperative that we discover the ways in which New Englanders perceived their communities and their society as a whole and that we find out how the organic imagery was expressed, persisted, and was modified or transformed by the intrusion of alternative conceptions of community and society. The addition of a third analytical chapter on community would have increased the usefulness and the comprehensiveness of Foster's exposition of the fundamental assumptions governing the ideas and the values of this society.

The second part of the book, consisting of

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"Details" in chapters on government, wealth, and poverty, contains few surprises for students of early American society. However, Foster's excessive attention to politics will perplex most readers (part of chapter 3 is devoted to a long narrative of familiar contentions between magistrates and the people in the seventeenth century, and two of the appendixes deal with the franchise and the nomination of magistrates) since the connection of politics to the Puritan social ethic too often seems vague or missing altogether. The fourth chapter on "Wealth: The Calling, Capitalism, Commerce, and the Problem of Prosperity" is often suggestive, particularly Foster's point (which counters Bernard Bailyn's thesis) that "far from being at odds, merchants, magistrates, and ministers, through family connections and intermarriage, formed one integral community" (p. 120), which is amplified in two appendixes. The most interesting and original of these chapters is the one on poverty, since it explores an issue rarely confronted by earlier studies of New England. One is left wondering, though, whether these three topics alone suffice to provide details about the social ethic in practice and within the formal institutions of New England society. The conclusion of the book, "Puritanism and Democracy: A Mixed Legacy," does not quiet such doubts since it emphasizes politics rather than synthesizing the themes of the analysis of the Puritan social ethic.

Their Solitary Way is a book to be admired for several of its parts but not as a whole. The reason, undoubtedly, is to be found in the "essential slipperiness" of the concept of the "Puritan Social Ethic" (p. xi). Foster's study often explores issues with insight and convincing evidence, but it lacks an overarching theme, a sustained point of view that can dominate the details and depict the overall conceptions and assumptions that shaped New Englanders' views of their society and of their relationships to each other over time. Perhaps Foster is right in arguing that the social ethic changed little during the first hundred years, but his book will not convince those who may harbor doubts. The problem, however, lies not with the approach through the analysis of ideas and of literary sources but with Foster's failure to pursue this approach further and to probe the norms of this society more extensively.

It is unfortunate that the present success of the new social history evokes a defensiveness and uneasiness among historians who, like Foster, prefer to approach the past via printed literary sources, to write intellectual history, and to eschew the use of computers. The achievements of *Their Solitary Way* suggest the essential contributions that can be made by intellectual and literary historians to the analysis of early American experience and thought, while its limitations ought to encourage the continued exploration of other dimensions of the social ethic and the world view of New England and other sections of the colonial world. Above all, despite Foster's misgivings, it remains imperative for us to avoid dangerous divisions between "the opposing camps" (p. 202) of historians and to reconcile our two very different but equally essential approaches to the past.

PHILIP J. GREVEN, JR.
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

RUTH CRANDALL, compiler. *Tax and Valuation Lists of Massachusetts Towns before 1776: Finding List for the Microfilm Edition.* With a foreword by ARTHUR H. COLE. Cambridge, Mass.: Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History. 1971. Pp. xvii, 158. $3.00.

The recent publication of a cluster of studies of family structure, community life, and political behavior in colonial New England has sparked a renewed interest in the publication of vital records, tax records, and the records of local political units. Tax records in particular are invaluable for the study of local and family history in the colonial era. In the absence of census totals, which exist for few colonies before the 1760s, tax records provide the best available basis for estimating local populations, and in the absence of detailed census schedules, which exist even less frequently than census summaries, they furnish the only comprehensive basis for studying the geographic mobility of individuals and for checking the completeness of the vital statistics used in demographic studies. Equally important, the tax assessments are the most convenient source for studying the distribution of property and, given the age and class biases in most probate records, probably the most accurate source as well.

By making available this microfilm collec-

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tion of nearly twelve-hundred tax lists from twenty-one Massachusetts towns, Miss Crandall and the Charles Warren Center have greatly increased the accessibility of a group of important source documents. The starting point for examining the microfilm collection is the detailed *Finding List*. After an introductory section that explains the legal procedures for assessing taxes in colonial Massachusetts and briefly illustrates some of the varied tax-list formats, the guide calendars the tax lists as they appear on the microfilm. Each entry shows, in addition to the year and pagination of the list, the number of wards or precincts taxed, the governmental agency for which the tax was levied, the rate at which the poll tax was assessed, and a summary of how extensively the tax assessed on each individual is itemized. The information in the *Finding List* will be immensely helpful to scholars attempting to select lists for extensive analysis.

The microfilm collection itself is especially rich for the three eastern Bay Colony counties of Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk (pre-Revolutionary boundaries), within which all but one of the twenty-one towns are situated. Tax lists are presented for large seaport towns, for Boston suburbs, and for sparsely populated inland towns; and the collection contains a good combination of towns founded early and late in the colonial period, with individual tax lists ranging in date from 1648 to 1820. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of unbroken runs of annual tax lists stretching over fifty years for eight towns and over a century for three. The editor has extended the geographic range of the collection to towns in western Massachusetts, to the area that was originally the Plymouth Colony, and to the District of Maine by itemizing in an appendix the long available, but probably little-known, set of valuation lists for most Massachusetts towns compiled between 1768 and 1771 and lodged in the Massachusetts Archives.

In view of the enormous amount of material contained in this set of documents it is worthwhile to emphasize that the collection is not a complete compilation of surviving colonial tax lists and does not claim to be, although a cursory reading of the introduction to the *Finding List* might convey the opposite impression. Rather, it is a sample drawn under clearly defined circumstances. The initial compilation made in the 1930s sought long runs of surviving records and concentrated on eastern Massachusetts where extremely old towns were common, presumably because the scholars then most interested in the project were economists concerned with time series data. When the project was revived in recent years the tax lists still to be found in the same town archives were microfilmed; the compiler did not look for lists in other towns and did not circularize public libraries, historical societies, or other repositories, even though such institutions hold large numbers of tax lists, including some continuous runs as impressive as those microfilmed. Similarly the compiler chose not to list the large number of tax lists published in local histories, historical society proceedings, and similar works. All of these decisions to limit the scope of the collection clearly are defensible in practical and financial terms, and it would be ridiculous to demand the expansion of such an extensive collection. Nevertheless, given the propensity of scholars to equate extant records with accessible records and given the desire of the compiler to present a collection that is in some sense exhaustive, a strong case could be made for including a bibliography of other known tax records in the guide.

A final comment pertains to a general danger in publishing selective editions of public records. The compiler of the collection reviewed here, like all private researchers, was limited by the willingness and ability of the record keepers to make available the desired materials. Inevitably, therefore, substantial numbers of tax lists remain undiscovered even in the towns included in the collection, as found when I inadvertently opened a volume containing twenty years of unmicrofilmed tax lists while examining the town meeting records in one town clerk's office. Because some clerks approach scholars with suspicion or regard them as a nuisance, the effect of partial microfilming sometimes is to close all of the records to researchers on the grounds that they are obtainable elsewhere on microfilm. The best solution to this problem would seem to be to microfilm all of a town's records up to a certain date, thus preventing accidental omission of desired materials and at the same time assuring

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that companion records necessary for the full utilization of any one set also become available. This a successor microfilming project, of which the Charles Warren Center is a sponser, now proposes to do. The present collection, despite some limitations, therefore represents both a substantial contribution in its own right and a precursor of a larger and, one hopes, even more useful compilation.

EDWARD M. COOK, JR.
University of Chicago

PARK ROUSE, JR. *James Blair of Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 336. $10.00.

PIERRE MARAMBAUD. *William Byrd of Westover, 1674–1744.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1971. Pp. ix, 297. $12.50.

James Blair and William Byrd, contemporaries and neighbors, died within fifteen months of each other, full of years and honors. For more than four decades both had been at the center of public affairs in Virginia, occasionally opponents but more often pulling together as councilors with the common interests of a power elite to which both belonged. Now, nearly two and a half centuries later, by coincidence both have their second biographical resurrections in volumes as unlike as the two veteran compatriots themselves.

Mr. Rouse has cast his *James Blair of Virginia* in the life-and-times style. A more intimate biography would have been impossible for lack of personal papers and unappealing for lack of an attractive principal. A Virginia governor, who knew Blair well, described him once generally as "a very vile old fellow" and again more explicitly as "an unaccountable spark, hated abominably by all men but his countrymen [the Scots], and when he can't advise nor direct, he's inclined to perplex." The author notes this reading, and he faithfully records the scanty lore about the eccentric dypsomaniac whom Blair married, but he wastes no time on cracker-barrel psychoanalysis. The Blair he presents is the Scot who came to Virginia in 1685 at age thirty, played a major part in founding the College of William and Mary, served fifty years as its president, helped unseat three governors, performed the duties of commissary, and ministered successively to three congregations from the backwoods to Williamsburg.

Understandably Blair in the role of Warwick gets fullest treatment. Sources for these maneuvers are abundant though tortuous and by this token difficult to piece together into an objective account. The author has picked his way through outrageous innuendoes and outright lies in the charges and countercharges to get at the substance while still suggesting the atmosphere of uproar and contention. Similarly he treats Blair as Commissary, the bishop's representative, a post that gave him both leverage and incentive in Virginia politics. The reader can never be quite sure how much the author credits Blair with a special twist in Virginia Anglicanism that survives to this day. Nor is it certain whether Blair acted on principle or from pure greed for power. But the author leaves no doubt about another kind of greed that made Blair a rich man at the end of his days. Altogether Mr. Rouse is fair to this prickly man, unloved and unlovable, whom age could not mellow. Without claiming too much for Blair, he gives credit without covering the seamy side.

William Byrd, a far more appealing personality, comes in for a different style of treatment, analytical and topical, the familiar "studies in so-and-so" of literary scholars. Accordingly Professor Marambaud avoids the problem of how to cast this most literate of Southern gentlemen in a biography, whether the life-and-times or the intimate personal account. Part 1, to be sure, is a biographical sketch, seventy urbanely written pages, useful but not new knowledge. Part 2, "Man of Letters," goes well beyond Richmond Beatty's biography of 1932 in examining Byrd as virtuoso, "cavalier," diarist, and chronicler. Each chapter, an essay in itself, adds a new coat that gives depth and luster to the portrait. Chapter 10, "Amateur," as the title suggests, ranks Byrd as a talent rather than a genius.

The final part, "Painter of Colonial Virginia," about half the book and in Professor Marambaud's opinion "the most important section," is disappointing. The author poses the problem, how well did Byrd report Virginia of his day? His answer is seriously misleading. He does not tell his reader, as he should, that Byrd

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gives evidence on a fragment of the Virginia social order, the most fortunate five per cent at the top. For the overwhelming bulk of planters, those commonly called yeoman by American historians, Byrd had scant respect and hardly noticed them in his writings except occasionally to ridicule. Professor Marambaud has fallen into the trap set for those who rely principally on literary evidence. Recent scholarship grounded on other sources has insisted on a more balanced view of the planter society, one already presented specifically and by implication in the seminal work of Professor Wertenbaker years ago. Professor Marambaud's chapters on public life and the frontier suffer less from the partial view, although public life as here presented revolves around Williamsburg to the exclusion of the colorful county courts that touched Virginians intimately and constantly.

Beyond this limitation common in elitist history the treatment here leaves open several interesting problems for the definitive biographer. Meanwhile Professor Marambaud has combined the long-known writings with newer additions to the canon to produce a useful book that students of Byrd and colonial Virginia must take into account.

AUBREY C. LAND
University of Georgia

HARRY M. WARD. *"Unite or Die": Intercolony Relations 1690–1763*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1971. Pp. ix, 323. $13.95.

The author of this encyclopedic review of "intercolony cooperative action" does not recognize that "the proportions and relations of things are just as much facts as the things themselves." He therefore heaps up historical materials without building any stucture of meaning from them. He imposes no contours on the mounds of intercolonial antagonism he finds obstructing every path to American union. He finds the colonists alienated from Great Britain as well as from each other, but he does not ask why. He admits that after seventy years of bickering and noncooperation "the colonies were not ready for union but," he insists, "unconsciously were being thrust towards it." The author believes in the inevitability of an American union for which he can find no prior existence and little anticipation.

This futile search for "the origin of American federalism in the colonial experience" points out that "what strides were made came mostly through the executive war powers in the colonies," but Ward concedes that these were more than offset by the obstructionist, isolationist, provincial legislatures that "looked after their own selfish interests and put constitutional gains above general security." Such conclusions, like all those of the volume, are uncritical repetitions of the previous findings in standard studies of the period. The author, in his inimitable prose, reiterates the familiar division between the English executive and the colonial legislature, between imperialism and self-government: "The result [of this conflict] would be a rapprochement based on a dichotomy of royal control, principally in external matters, and of colonial legislative authority over internal matters, to last until Parliament in the 1760's would attempt pell-mell to extend its authority over all colonial affairs."

To the authority of standard works in support of this position the author adds newspaper items, gleanings from some of the American copies of British manuscripts, and materials extracted from selected theses and dissertations. Topical titles—"Ideas of Union," "War Conferences," "Logistics," "Northern Indians," "Southern Indians," "Indian Wars," "Comity," "Boundary Disputes"—caption chapters composed of facts arranged chronologically. Too often, only date order relates these facts.

While the result is disjointed and inconclusive, it serves as a guide to Mr. Ward's clear and copious footnotes and suggests what subjects are treated in the titles referred to in these notes and listed in the extensive bibliography. This book's usefulness is as a topical digest and bibliographic guide to its subject. As is appropriate in such a reference work, the index is quite comprehensive and reliable, if no more conclusive than the text that the colonists would necessarily react from separatism into union, that they would someday see that they must "unite or die."

STEPHEN SAUNDERS WEBB
Syracuse University and Charles Warren Center

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PATRICIA U. BONOMI. *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 342. $10.00.

This book traces the gradual emergence of a highly developed political culture in colonial New York. Mrs. Bonomi contends that the centrifugal nature of the colony's early development—the dispersion of settlement along the Hudson, the successive waves of culturally distinct migrants, the absence of a representative assembly until 1691—inhibited the creation of a stable polity and promoted the extremely bitter factional strugglers of the post-Leislerian period.

The first major step in the political integration of this diverse society was the arrival of Governor Robert Hunter in 1710. Through an astute alliance with the Morris and Livingston families, the spokesmen for the landed classes, Hunter erased the old battlelines, created a proadministration majority in the Assembly, and placed the main burden of taxation on the merchant interest. By 1730, however, the author argues that these relatively simple economic divisions among the representatives of various interest groups had begun to be superceded by a political system in which "faction was the instrument not simply of class, or interest, or ideology, but of all this and something more—of politics, which contained and absorbed everything else."

This transformation was accelerated by the political controversies of the Cosby era. Within a few years the Zenger trial raised crucial legal questions, the constitutional relationship with Great Britain was subjected to detailed public discussion, and, perhaps most importantly, the people of the province were mobilized for political action. This trend toward popular participation was then accentuated at mid-century by the futile efforts of Governor George Clinton to wrest political power from his one-time associate, Chief Justice James Delancy.

The results became fully apparent only during the constitutional crisis of 1765–69, when the populace—especially in New York City—was considerably more active and more radical in its defense of American rights than the traditional leadership. By this time severe land riots were also threatening the old political system. These, the author demonstrates, were less the work of distressed German and Dutch tenants than of ambitious migrants from New England who were determined to secure land on a freehold basis. Superimposed on a mature political system these pressures for land reform and for constitutional rights created an open, competitive, and relatively democratic polity—one which eventually produced the first professional politicians in the United States.

Mrs. Bonomi's analysis is wide-ranging and, for the most part, convincing. Some readers will question her optimistic view of tenancy and her sympathetic treatment of landlords (the result, apparently, of her heavy dependence on their manuscript collections); others will disagree with her interpretation of the preindependence factional struggles or her downgrading of class divisions. But few will argue with her major conclusion that by the 1760s the political system of New York had developed "a dynamic of its own."

JAMES A. HENRETTA
University of New England

MATTIE ERMA EDWARDS PARKER, editor. *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1697–1701.* (The Colonial Records of North Carolina.) Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1971. Pp. lxviii, 620. $12.00.

The bulk of the "higher-court records" printed in this volume of the Colonial Records of North Carolina are minutes and file papers (largely pleadings and process) of the General Court for the period February 1696–97 to October 1701. About sixty pages are equally divided between Court of Chancery records from early 1697 to late 1698 (almost all Chancery records for the years 1698–1711 have been lost) and a category entitled Miscellaneous Court Documents. The volume is basically a continuation of what was characterized in the first volume of *North Carolina Higher-Court Records,* published in 1968 and covering the period 1670–96, as "Courts held by the Council," except that from late 1697 the deputy governor and council no longer constituted the General Court. Unfortunately, as in the case of most colonial court records, the minutes do not include any judicial opinions or decisions, if any were rendered, and virtually no arguments of counsel. Although procedural matters can be

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pieced together, it is difficult to reconstruct the corpus of substantive law administered by the several courts.

As in the earlier book this publication makes available in carefully transcribed and edited form, from sources not readily accessible to most scholars, valuable manuscript records relating to the early history of North Carolina, a history that, in terms of court systems and legal developments, has been much neglected. The General Court was the principal common-law court of original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters; it also exercised appellate jurisdiction over one county and four precinct courts and handled administrative matters relating to land grants as well as probate and administration. Several General Court commissions are printed, but the introduction, perhaps owing to the "extremely fragmentary" nature of early statutory material, leaves somewhat blurred the precise original, appellate, and transfer jurisdiction exercised by the several courts. The Court of Chancery, for instance, appears to have exercised some appellate jurisdiction in common-law matters. Mrs. Parker includes the Palatine's Court among the higher courts of the colony, but the present volume gives no information on this court's judicial or quasi-judicial functions. Vice-admiralty jurisdiction is briefly touched upon in the introduction.

The simplified pleadings and process in the General Court followed, for the most part, common-law principles but were a far cry from the standards of Westminster Hall or even of the Provincial Court of Maryland or the Supreme Court of New York. The form of action concept was loosely applied, case (trespass on the case) being used in a variety of situations; trespass was usually brought to try title to land. The records yield little information as to the trial stage. On the criminal side the attorney general proceeded by either grand jury indictment or information; offenses involving livestock were most frequent, but the most important prosecutions arose from the plundering of a stranded royal naval vessel. While lawyers were licensed to practice, it seems highly unlikely that a bar with any legal training existed in the colony; that some English treatises were available for guidance appears from the language of pleadings and indictments. On the whole the records illustrate a successful adaptation of English common-law principles and procedures to a species of "frontier society."

JOSEPH H. SMITH
School of Law,
Columbia University

GEORGE EDWARD FRAKES. *Laboratory for Liberty: The South Carolina Legislative Committee System, 1719–1776.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. xi, 200. $12.50.

In *Laboratory for Liberty* George Edward Frakes presents a legislative history of colonial South Carolina from the rebellion against the Lords Proprietors until the American Revolution. The author distinguishes his book from other works by describing his study as an "institutional treatment of internal operations of the Assembly" and subtitling it *The South Carolina Legislative Committee System.*

The colonial records of South Carolina list the establishment of a committee, its membership, chairman, length of deliberations, and subsequent reports to the commons house or the royal council. Such material provides only the barest information for study. Matters such as discussions, participants in deliberations, domination by an individual, or the presence of friction or consensus cannot be ascertained. In the second chapter the author concludes that there is not sufficient material to reconstruct the deliberations of the committees. Despite this acknowledged absence of data, Professor Frakes devotes this book to an analysis of the legislative committees.

Any reader unfamiliar with the primary and secondary materials of provincial Carolina would be misled by technical flaws in the presentation. A few examples serve as illustration. Professor Frakes describes the opening session of the assembly in 1724. The citation refers, however, to Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s journey to Charleston in 1773. Arthur Middleton is listed as "Assembly President" while he served as executive pro tempore of Carolina. In fact, Middleton was president of the royal council; the lower house had no president, but a speaker instead. The date of the Tuscarora War is given as 1706 when the Indian conflict was fought in 1711–12.

The book suffers from two problems. The first is the paucity of material concerning the

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legislative committee system in provincial Carolina. The second shortcoming is the author's lack of attention to technical details.

By drawing heavily from secondary works Professor Frakes has provided a short and concise synthesis of the legislative history of royal South Carolina. A reader not requiring a full treatment but wishing to scan the period would profit from the text and tables in *Laboratory for Liberty*. Anyone seeking a broader development and an understanding of the interactions of the various branches of government should read one of the standard works cited by Professor Frakes.

W. ROBERT HIGGINS
Murray State University

THOMAS FIRTH JONES. *A Pair of Lawn Sleeves: A Biography of William Smith (1727–1803)*. Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company. 1972. Pp. 210. $6.50.

According to his most recent biographer, William Smith was "the greatest intellectual power of the greatest city on the North American continent," and "did almost everything that is worth doing in the world." Although the author's characteristic exuberance needs qualification, the bright and energetic provost of the Academy and College of Philadelphia was significant. He attained enviable success as a gifted educator, distinguished churchman, and notorious political controversialist. *Lawn Sleeves* proves an inappropriate title, for Dr. Smith's complex life cannot be encompassed by an overriding ambition for a bishop's gown.

Jones faces other problems, most notably the existence of Frank Albert Gegenheimer's *William Smith: Educator and Churchman* (1943). Carl Bridenbaugh thought Gegenheimer's addition to the Pennsylvania Lives series "an excellent biography." Jones disagrees but fails to produce sound reasons for modifying Bridenbaugh's verdict. Rather frequently Jones follows Gegenheimer's narrative and evaluations. Often he utilizes the same quotations. Jones evidently ignored several relevant manuscript collections and discovered no new ones. He overlooked some essential secondary works, on Pennsylvania politics, for example. Jones's elaboration of certain aspects of Smith's activities generally rests on the research of others; Brooke Hindle's, for example, permitted treatment of Smith's scientific interests.

Jones devotes considerable attention to Smith's personality and revels in recounting Smith's weaknesses. Jones, who describes William Penn as a "vain, bumbling, and capricious fool," and Benjamin Franklin as "devoid of all human feelings, except lust and twisted pride," has a wonderful time endorsing personal slurs upon Smith. The author emphasizes the provost's drunkenness, sloppy appearance, pugnacious nature, and reluctance to pay his debts.

Organizational problems plague Jones. In one chapter only about a fifth of the contents pertain to its title, and to a lesser degree the same criticism applies to several other chapters. Another weakness of Jones's presentation is its disconcerting number of inaccuracies. Closely allied with this are annoying stylistic mannerisms. Excessive use of "perhaps," "probably," and "must have" produce a conjectural atmosphere. Finally, in appealing to the general reader, an author need not stoop to vulgarisms and slang. Jones does regularly.

A Pair of Lawn Sleeves is clearly inferior to the earlier biography of William Smith.

RANDOLPH SHIPLEY KLEIN
University of Wisconsin—Stevens Point

WALTER KLINEFELTER. *Lewis Evans and His Maps*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 61, Part 7.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1971. Pp. 65. $2.50.

The title of this substantial essay hardly does it justice, for the historical content is fully as significant as the cartographical. As historians have long been remiss in their appreciation and use of maps as documents, so they should not overlook this excellent correlation of cartography and history. Although Mr. Klinefelter, like his predecessors, has turned up no information about Lewis Evans's life before 1736, he has provided the most complete biography of his subject's last twenty years, with due acknowledgment of the scholarly work of Lawrence C. Wroth and Lawrence H. Gipson. This was not conceived as a biographical study, but the details about Evans's personality, motivations, and objectives are skillfully interwoven in the dominant themes of geopolitics and diplomacy, to which he contributed his scientific talent and some polemics as well.

In Klinefelter's essay the cartographer will

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find all he may desire concerning Evans's *Map of Pensilvania, New-Jersey, New-York, and the Three Delaware Counties* (1749; 2d ed., 1752) and his more famous *Map of the Middle British Colonies in America* (1755), in the historical context of other pertinent maps, earlier and contemporary, and with full bibliographical details. Here, too, he can review the maps of the later eighteenth century that were based upon Evans's compilation of the *Middle British Colonies*. While it may be maintained that only his maps have assured Evans a place in history, he was no aloof, retiring mapmaker but rather a controversial figure in Pennsylvania politics whose *Analysis* complementing the map of 1755 gave it imperial dimensions, influential long after his death in 1756. Indeed the historian will sharpen his perspective of Pennsylvania's Indian diplomacy and domestic dissension, along with problems of intercolonial rivalry and French aggression, by the author's treatment of the geographical ignorance and misinformation that Evans labored to correct—too late to forestall initial British defeat (although a rough copy was in General Braddock's hands) but invaluable for their conduct of the ensuing war. Evans had good reason for dedicating the map to his friend Thomas Pownall, who, as Klinefelter points out, "never saw the Ohio Valley, and yet he realized the significance and trustworthiness of both map and pamphlet," attested to in his *Topographical Description* (1776).

The only defect in the present publication is the reproduction of Evans's *Map of Pensilvania*, much of which becomes illegible by photographic reduction. Although this is a common fault of publishers it seems more inexcusable in this case, given the nature of the subject and the distinction of the American Philosophical Society. However, it does not mar the author's achievement as a noteworthy contribution to historical and cartographic knowledge.

LESTER J. CAPPON
Newberry Library

FRANK A. CASSELL. *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 283. $15.00.

Samuel Smith lived vigorously for eighty-seven years. He was born before the French and Indian War, and his funeral cortege included President Martin Van Buren. With his passing few men remained of that remarkable military organization, the Continental Army. As a soldier Smith performed his duties well in both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. His tenacious holding of Fort Mifflin in 1777 was heroic, and his defense of Baltimore in 1814 efficiently executed. But as author Cassell observes in his title Smith was basically a merchant and a congressman.

Smith succeeded in both pursuits. After resigning from the army in 1779 he took over his father's faltering business and by the early 1790s had built one of Baltimore's most prosperous firms. With his personal fortunes secure and after two terms in the state legislature, he entered national politics in 1792 and won election to Congress. Although he assumed office as a Federalist he challenged administrative policies in 1794 and in 1796 shifted his support to the coalition forming around Thomas Jefferson. Smith's congressional career spanned a total of forty continuous years. Twenty-two of those he spent in the Senate, the other eighteen in the House. During this time he held all of the important congressional positions with the exception of the Speaker of the House. In 1835, two years after his retirement from Congress, he ran and won election as mayor of Baltimore.

Cassell's volume is not a biography—nothing of the personal man emerges. What is primarily examined, or more correctly surveyed, is Smith's performance in national politics. As a survey the work exhibits some strengths. With obvious organizational ability Cassell relates Smith's congressional career to the major currents of national life. Nothing very new on these familiar issues is presented, but Cassell brings this well-traveled ground together nicely while keeping the focus on his subject.

Unfortunately, as a survey, Cassell's work does not perceptibly advance our understanding of the early republic. One can sympathize with the author's statement that little of Smith's personal or business correspondence has survived. This void is painfully demonstrated by Cassell's inability to analyze Smith's character in any meaningful way. Smith was molded by his experience as a merchant and politician. Of Smith's commercial career, Cassell's most interpretive comment is that he im-

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bibed "the businessman's values of thrift, integrity, regularity and shrewdness." Much more precision than this is needed if we are to accept the book's thesis that Smith's fervent support of the nation's commercial interests determined his stands on most political issues. Smith's positions, in fact, often conflicted with those of other merchants both in Baltimore and other parts of the country. This was so because in the early republic's very diversified merchant world Smith supported the interests of the successful mid-Atlantic merchant. For his colleagues in other geographical regions or for his lesser competitors at home he cared little. Since Smith was not, as Cassell observes, "the type of man who philosophized about his principles," much more attention should have been paid to the commercial dimensions of the man and the city and state he represented. Similarly Cassell does not explain how Smith acquired and maintained political power. It is clear that Smith used patronage to his advantage; it is equally obvious that he employed the militia as a vehicle for election. But Cassell never seriously explores Smith's organized political support. Without this examination and without the development of a satisfactory commercial perspective Cassell's characterization of Smith remains blurred and obscure.

RONALD HOFFMAN
University of Maryland

GERALD W. MULLIN. *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 219. $7.95.

The thesis of this highly original study of "the relationship between the acculturative process and resistance to slavery before the ante-bellum era" is that the varying types of rebelliousness shown by eighteenth-century slaves can be explained by the interaction of two variables; the degree of assimilation and the kind of work performed. Field hands, household slaves, and skilled artisans had distinct ways of resisting the system that depended not only on the character of their work and their relationship to the slaveowner but also on the extent to which they had assimilated English culture.

The relatively unassimilated field hands (except for freshly transported Africans who often escaped to frontier areas) generally turned their rebelliousness against the plantation itself—through sabotage, organized pilferage, and, if they ran off, usually staying nearby and engaging in acts of destruction against their master's property until caught and punished. The rural house-slave, whose behavior was characterized by a "profound ambiguity about whites and his own 'privileged' status," exhibited resentment through drunkenness, "laziness," and "petty rebelliousness" rather than by attempting to escape.

In contrast acculturated types—skilled artisans, waitingmen, and boatmen—characteristically rebelled by running away and seeking their own freedom. Speaking English with facility, possessed of useful skills, artful in dealing with whites, and knowledgeable about the wider world outside of the plantation, they were able to pass themselves as free men in urban centers. This group of slaves—literate, sophisticated, and often widely traveled—developed a striking familiarity with the ideology of the Revolutionary era. Consequently at the end of the century they became the initiators and leaders of a different kind of resistance—a well organized slave revolt.

No brief review can do justice to the subtlety and sophistication of Mullin's discussion, which takes into account economic, demographic, and cultural variables not mentioned here. One of the two or three most important works on American slavery to appear in the last fifteen years, this is a path-breaking volume. Mullin's convincingly argued thesis is especially significant in view of the conclusions of scholars like Melville Herskovits and Carl Degler concerning the relationship between African cultural survivals and the prevalence of slave revolts. Invaluable in its own right, Mullin's work will achieve even greater importance as historians, exploring further the questions he raises, study slave resistance in other places and periods.

AUGUST MEIER
Kent State University

PAULINE MAIER. *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xviii, 318, xxvi. $10.00.

Pauline Maier's impressive study draws partic-

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ular attention to the rational and prudent character of the colonial resistance movement. Most Americans, she finds, were loyal subjects of the British Empire who became revolutionaries only after all efforts to gain a redress of grievances through regular channels had failed. "Colonial leaders . . . quickly learned that unrestrained popular violence was counter-productive. They organized resistance in part to contain disorder." Colonial moderation was grounded, Mrs. Maier asserts, in a political ideology that counseled restraint, obedience to legal authority, and patience in the face of provocation—an ideology formulated by the "Commonwealthmen" and "Real Whigs" of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. While emphasizing this less familiar, more cautious side of "Real Whig" thought, Mrs. Maier does not deny the existence of a concurrent side that was radical and potentially revolutionary. Whig writers firmly asserted the contractual nature of government and the people's right to resist an unjust ruler, but they also taught that liberty thrived best under conditions of order and stability. Therefore, lawful rulers, even if imperfect, ought to be obeyed. Nor were special and restricted grievances, affecting only a minority, sufficient cause for repudiating the political covenant. Subjects might resist only when discontent became general and oppression so widespread as to reflect an unmistakable pattern of governmental tyranny and corruption. Even then, resistance should be sharply focused, as it was, for example, during the Boston Tea Party when tea—the conspicuous symbol of an oppressive policy—was the sole object of the provincials' wrath. Thus "Whiggism tempered the use of violence. . . . The need to reconcile the impulse toward resistance with the injunction to restraint became, in fact, one of the central intellectual and practical problems of the American revolutionary movement."

While Mrs. Maier has thrown light on a subtle and intriguing ambivalence in Whig thought, perhaps not everyone will agree about the disciplined character of American resistance or be willing to support her marked emphasis on ideology as the key determinant of colonial moderation. I am inclined myself to go along with her on the first point, but I have some reservations about the second. For all the undoubted importance of ideas, the case for colonial prudence might be drawn in a somewhat different way. By 1765 the provincials had already accumulated considerable experience in resisting persons and policies they did not like. For years they had been asserting themselves, and their desires and discontents, in town meetings, through local religious and fraternal societies, by means of petitions to provincial assemblies, and by the dispatch of agents and petitions to England. On the whole these procedures had been fairly effective, and there was no reason initially to think that the grievances of the 1760s and 1770s could not be resolved in similar fashion. Both logic and experience dictated that violence should be used only as a last resort and after all the customary political remedies had been exhausted.

Here, then, was a rationale for restraint that must have been quite as compelling as that suggested by any system of thought. One could argue, moreover, that it was mainly because "Real Whig" ideology comported so well with colonial political experience that it was adopted almost intact in America (while never exerting more than passing influence in England itself). Because Professor Maier's study concentrates on the years 1765 and after, it makes few connections with that earlier political experience, thus giving unwonted prominence to ideas as a basis for action. The separation may be misleading. Let us at least say that here is one of those questions where the placement of emphasis matters immensely.

For those seeking further insights on the ideological side of American radicalism, this book provides many fine ones. Having stated her theme in an early chapter Professor Maier devotes the bulk of her space to tracing in meticulous detail and with exemplary scholarship the rise of radical groups, particularly the Sons of Liberty, and to laying out more comprehensively than has any previous study the growth of revolutionary organization after 1765. An appendix that identifies the Sons of Liberty in each colony will prove especially useful.

PATRICIA U. BONOMI
New York University

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin.* Volume 15, *January 1 through December 31, 1768.* (Sponsored by the

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American Philosophical Society and Yale University.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. xxix, 327. $17.50.

Few changes in editorial methods and policies have been introduced into this volume of the Franklin *Papers*, the first under the direction of a new editor. It fully adheres to the rigorous standards of bibliographical exactitude and textual accuracy of its predecessors.

The editors quite properly point out that during 1768, the year covered by the present volume, political affairs were "torpid" in comparison to the intellectual animation of Franklin's private world, but they do not undertake to interpret this mental vitality and ferment. By and large, political affairs, even the most routine and perfunctory, are given more investigation and exposition than matters of ethical, economic, scientific or literary interest. Franklin's essay "On the Laboring Poor," for example, conveying as it does a social philosophy completely at variance with the humanitarian image ordinarily associated with its author, cries out for interpretation, but none is offered. It might be useful to indicate that Franklin's paradox—the *"labouring poor receive annually the whole of the clear revenues of the nation"*—is a variant of Bernard Mandeville's more famous paradox, "private vices, public benefits."

The editors tend to elevate facts over concepts, the material over the intellectual, a tendency by no means absent in previous volumes. In attributing authorship of anonymous works, they assign more importance to the existence of a manuscript than to parallels in style or idea. In treating, for example, theories that have been advanced concerning "The Captivity of William Henry," the editors actually weaken the case for Franklin's authorship by obtruding into the printed text a manuscript fragment in Franklin's hand but composed in a style entirely foreign to the "Captivity." One should expect that, regardless of the provenance of either the printed work or the fragment, each should be respected as an integral text, particularly since they do not together form a unified whole.

In treating Franklin's revision of the Lord's Prayer, the editors do good work in assigning a probable date of composition, but then without warrant affirm that "Franklin had no theological bent" and that "the life of prayer" was alien to his personality. One could object that Franklin, as one of America's most prominent deists, constantly pondered theological questions and that he composed for his own use several liturgies or forms of prayer. The editors, moreover, associate Franklin's stylistic and ideological revision of the Lord's Prayer with his project of reformed spelling, while completely ignoring an obvious parallel with Franklin and Dashwood's *Abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer* (1773).

Apart from considerations such as these, however, the volume possesses a wealth of valuable information, particularly in relation to genealogy and Franklin's personal life.

A. OWEN ALDRIDGE
University of Illinois, Urbana

DAVID FREEMAN HAWKE. *Benjamin Rush: Revolutionary Gadfly*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1971. Pp. x, 490. $15.00.

This is an engaging, partial biography of a man in whom many of the strands that made the American Revolution were knotted. Rush inherited a tradition of political independence that he relished and a middle-class hostility to the elites that he aspired to join. As a sympathetic and generous doctor he treated the poor; as a patriot he early supported independence. A hyperactive man interested in causes, anxious to participate in the Revolution, he lost his political influence by rejecting the radical Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776; tactless and indiscreet behavior destroyed his opportunities to be useful in the war, even though he had sound ideas on military medicine. After the war boundless optimism for a republic of virtues swept him into social reforms over slavery, education (he helped found two colleges), temperance, and care for the poor and the insane. He spent his talents and incredible energy in short-range interest in such a broad range of pursuits that he earned a reputation for contradictory behavior and fickleness. He had no place in the Constitutional Convention nor in the rewriting of the Pennsylvania Constitution. In 1790, according to Hawke, he withdrew from politics. Thereafter he devoted himself to medicine and family, at last finding in a profession he once considered leaving some singleness of purpose.

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Rush wrote constantly and left an enormous body of material, which has allowed the reconstruction of both action and personality by a talented writer. From a vivid, perceptive analysis and narrative a complex, compulsive man emerges. But the book ends so abruptly as to call into question the author's purpose. If Hawke's intention was simply to fill in an unknown part of Rush's career perhaps we can accept the concluding date; we do have other studies of Rush and medicine after 1790. However, Rush did not completely abandon reform and the republic after 1790, and the extent to which he did suggests some changes in the gadfly. The history of both politics and personality here is therefore incomplete. But perhaps the author's primary purpose is to give us further insight into what it was for a man to be "in the midst of a revolution," caught up and cast down by enthusiasms and despairs but at bottom hopeful and believing. If so, he has succeeded admirably.

MARY MAPLES DUNN
Bryn Mawr College

CHRISTOPHER COLLIER. *Roger Sherman's Connecticut: Yankee Politics and the American Revolution.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 409. $18.50.

Thomas Jefferson once described Roger Sherman as "a man who never said a foolish thing in his life." One can well believe it after reading Christopher Collier's book (or even after a quick glance at Ralph Earl's revealing portrait as frontispiece). Had Sherman found more time for fun and less for politics Collier's task might have been easier. As it is, the author is hard put at times to sketch out the life of this somewhat dull but important figure. What Collier has done is to tell us a good deal about both colony and state, whose story he has successfully related to the major events of the Revolutionary generation. Into this tale he has skillfully woven the life of Roger Sherman, and although the times occasionally smother the life he has kept his dour Yankee of steady habit as much in the foreground as possible.

This is a book about politics. Sherman was a politician above all, and indefatigably he gave the best part of his life to the practice, whether he was in New Haven or Hartford, Philadelphia or New York. He lent a consistency to the evolution of national government, for he served in Congress from 1774 through most of the Confederation, helped to draft the federal Constitution, and sat in both House and Senate under the new government.

To each successive post he brought an accumulated experience, which was first bred in the Old Light–New Light politics of colonial Connecticut. Most of the time Sherman hewed close to his principles—curiously part nationalist, part states' rights—but he never let them stand very long in the way of practical compromises, which he himself often suggested or accepted from the suggestions of others. He was no mean antagonist for James Madison in 1787, and the Connecticut Compromise—which one historian, Collier is quick to tell us, thinks more accurately should be called the Sherman Compromise—testifies to his adroitness as well as his loyalty to a small state.

Sherman lacked color, and Collier has attempted to heighten his readers' interest through use of today's political jargon. Factions in Connecticut are "left-wing" and "extreme right." In making nice distinctions reliance on anachronistic terms leads him to such anomalies as "most radical of the middle-of-the-road forces" and "moderate radical takeover." Doubtless even George III would have hesitated to dub John Adams one of the "screaming radicals of '76." Politics take on a culinary character when described as "pot to boil" and "simmering contents," "stew to spill" and "boiling pottage." Unfortunately there are many more than an acceptable handful of misspellings and typographical errors. A book as expensive as this and as beautifully got up deserves better technical handling.

But these are annoyances only, and this is a good book. Collier has told us a great deal about a generation or more of Connecticut and national characters and events, and he has done so through the life of a man who contributed generously to the success of a colony, a state, and a nation.

DAVID S. LOVEJOY
University of Wisconsin, Madison

GRESDNA ANN DOTY. *The Career of Mrs. Anne Brunton Merry in the American Theatre.* (Louisiana State University Studies, Humanities

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Series, Number 21.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 170. $7.95.

WEST T. HILL, JR. *The Theatre in Early Kentucky, 1790–1820.* [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1971. Pp. xiii, 205. $9.50.

In the jigsaw puzzle of American theatrical history a great number of pieces are missing. Any time a single one of these is supplied and fitted into place the lover of theater should rejoice. Two important missing pieces of the puzzle are supplied by Gresdna Ann Doty's *The Career of Mrs. Anne Brunton Merry in the American Theatre* and by West T. Hill, Jr.'s *The Theatre in Early Kentucky, 1790–1820.*

Doty's slim volume is the first and only record and appraisal of the career of Mrs. Merry, who later became Mrs. Wignell and then Mrs. Warren. The book traces her professional life from her stage debut in England in 1785 at the age of sixteen to her arrival in America in 1796, and then, year by year, until her death in 1808. The account appears to be as accurate and complete as available records permit.

Consisting mostly of quotations from contemporary critics Doty's appraisal of Mrs. Merry's career is straightforward and objective. There is no attempt to fictionize or to romanticize. This is both the strength and the weakness of the book: strength, because only documented facts are presented; weakness, because such objectivity makes for dryness and bloodlessness. We are told what Mrs. Merry looked like, how her voice sounded, how her face and body responded to emotion, and what kind of delivery she used. In short, we are given the detailed descriptions of the critics as they saw her perform a large variety of roles. Yet the actress of flesh and blood and temperament rarely emerges. We seldom glimpse the personality or the individuality of the performer, and we never get an impression of the hard-working, aspiring, loving, suffering woman who had three husbands and a spotless reputation, who performed a prodigious number of roles often when she was seriously ill, and who died at the early age of thirty-nine after achieving fame as the finest actress of her day in America.

Doty's contribution is a valuable one, yet a flesh-and-blood biography of Mrs. Merry remains to be written.

Hill's volume, supplying another small but colorful piece to the jigsaw puzzle, provides the most extensive account yet written of the development of the theater in Kentucky from 1790 to 1820. After careful examination of all existing newspapers, playbills, memoirs, and so forth, Hill gives us a year-by-year survey of theatrical activity in what was the first Western area to be settled by pioneers from the Atlantic seaboard. He demonstrates "that Kentucky, especially Lexington, gave the early West the great bulk of drama production before 1810" (p. 45). Hill takes pains to disprove the widely held belief that Samuel Drake and his company were the founders of theatrical activity in the early West. Detracting nothing from Drake's contribution (Drake did, after 1815, organize and dominate the "Western circuit") the author nevertheless shows that "professional as well as amateur stage companies operated in Kentucky as early as 1810 and that later ones under the management of Douglas, Usher, and Turner sponsored successful seasons with competent companies before Drake arrived" (p. 109).

Hill's method of presenting his material is reminiscent of George C. D. Odell's monumental *Annals of the New York Stage* (1927–49). That is, Hill presents a year-by-year account of every theatrical entertainment (of which there is any record) in the Western territory—principally in the Kentucky towns of Lexington, Louisville, and Frankford—adding thumbnail biographical sketches, cast lists, and quotations from critics whenever these are available. Such cataloging of data, while valuable and necessary, becomes dull reading; but Hill, like Odell, spices up the record with occasional asides and comments, such as his remark that "If the Lexington amateurs [performing *Blue Beard* in 1810] really exhibited all the scenery described in the notice, the backstage crew must have outnumbered the performers" (p. 35). Hill's style of writing has more liveliness and personality than Doty's and in certain sections makes entertaining reading.

Both books contribute to a more complete picture of American theatrical history and hence are welcome additions to historical literature.

GARFF B. WILSON
University of California, Berkeley

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PAUL WOEHRMANN. *At the Headwaters of the Maumee: A History of the Forts of Fort Wayne.* With an introduction by RICHARD C. KNOPF. (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume 24.) Indianapolis: the Society. 1971. Pp. xv, 306. $3.00.

As a micro-study, Professor Woehrmann's book is a useful supplement to Francis Paul Prucha's comprehensive *American Indian Policy* (1962) and the sparse treatments of the Indian factory system. After a sketchy chapter describing French and British activities in present northeastern Indiana he devotes the rest of the book to Fort Wayne as an American outpost from 1794 to 1819. He gives some idea of its relationship to other posts and occasional glimpses into frontier military life prior to the War of 1812. With considerably more detail he also depicts its functioning as an Indian agency, factory, and a center for "civilizing" the Indians (government policy ineffectually implemented by Quakers who no more understood the cultural barrier then than they did in the later "Peace Policy" period). In the process he provides interesting insights into the personal conflicts and rivalries among military commanders, agents, factors, and "civilizers." His treatment of the War of 1812, focusing on Fort Wayne, could have profited from a broader perspective of the war in the Northwest. Professor Woehrmann concludes that the fort was a failure as factory, agency, and civilizing center. The reader can easily come to the further conclusion that, as a military post, Fort Wayne just simply was out there in the woods.

Unfortunately the reader moves into the book with an erroneous preconception set by Richard C. Knopf's geographical determinism in the introduction. Knopf advances the thesis that "whoever controlled this focus controlled the 'West'" (p. xiv). He also describes Fort Wayne as the "keystone of United States' power in the western territory" (p. xv). Actually, Woehrmann does not advance that thesis, nor would his data—as presented—sustain it.

Written in a clear though stiff style, the book rests on an extensive search of American documents. However, the absence of British and Canadian documentation leaves one in doubt about balance. On the whole, though, it is a commendable monograph.

OLIVER KNIGHT
University of Texas, El Paso

GERALD T. DUNNE. *Justice Joseph Story and the Rise of the Supreme Court.* New York: Simon and Schuster. 1970. Pp. 458. $12.95.

JAMES MCCLELLAN. *Joseph Story and the American Constitution: A Study in Political and Legal Thought. With Selected Writings.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 413. $12.50.

When one contemplates the eminence that Joseph Story achieved in his lifetime as a Supreme Court justice, as a legal scholar, and as a great teacher who breathed life into the Harvard Law School, it becomes apparent that he is among the most neglected figures in American constitutional and legal history. The explanation is obvious enough. Story was overshadowed for an entire generation on the Court by the colossal figure of John Marshall, and most scholars, among them E. S. Corwin, Andrew C. McLaughlin, and Albert Beveridge, have treated Story as little more than just another young Jeffersonian judge whom the great chief justice converted to his own brand of judicial nationalism. Moreover, the task of digesting Story's mass of papers, including his unbelievably prolific scholarly writings in the law, has until now appeared so formidable as to discourage completely most prospective biographers. The two present studies remedy this past neglect to a degree, although in very different ways.

Gerald Dunne's short and succinct biography is one of the finest of its kind that I have been fortunate enough to encounter. Of necessity the author's approach is "eclectic." He has concentrated principally upon Story's life as a Supreme Court justice, with lesser excursions into the great jurist's activities as a legal scholar, as a politician, as Dane Professor of Law at the Harvard Law School, and as a banker and businessman. Much of the work's excellence comes from the author's happy facility in summing up with a few incisive strokes Story's role in complex and difficult Supreme Court cases, whether it be the latter's trenchant nationalistic opinion in *Martin* v. *Hunter's Lessee,* the

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brilliant jurist's tightly reasoned concurring opinion in the Dartmouth College case, or his learned and impassioned dissent in the celebrated Charles River Bridge case.

The major theme that emerges from Dunne's analysis is that of Story's pervasive nationalism. It was present in his unsuccessful attempt to establish judicial recognition of a federal criminal common law with respect to offenses against the national government, in his brilliant and incisive defense of Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 in *Martin* v. *Hunter's Lessee,* and in his "unconstitutional" insistence in *Swift* v. *Tyson* upon the establishment of a federal "common law" in diversity cases. A lesser but important motif is that of Story's brilliant creativity in the law—for example, in his fusion of the ancient law of trusts and the equally ancient law of corporations to produce the beginnings of modern corporation law. Finally the author gives us something of the sense of human decency and the love of justice that shine through Story's general philosophic conservatism, above all in his stern condemnation of slavery as absolutely opposed to natural law, in his toleration for Catholics and other religious minorities, and in his advocacy of fair play for the American Indian. In short Story comes out from the deep historical penumbra cast by John Marshall and emerges in his own right as a great man.

McClellan's study of Story is best seen as not history at all but a piece of special pleading. The author's purpose is the glorification of Story as a conservative, cast in the image of Edmund Burke, as a means to the exposition of a conservative view of modern society, law, and culture, specifically that championed by Russell Kirk. Thus the chapters lauding Story's views upon natural law, upon relations between church and state, upon Christianity and the common law, and upon private property become in turn springboards for polemical attacks on modern positivistic legal philosophy, on the nationalization of the Bill of Rights by the Supreme Court (described as a "staggering blow" struck at "the very heart of federalism"), on the modern Court's adoption of the Jeffersonian "wall of separation" theory of the First Amendment's "establishment" clause, and so on.

All this leaves a historian faintly uneasy. Story was undoubtedly a philosophic conservative more or less in the Burkean tradition, as McClellan says, and he demonstrates pretty well the great justice's devotion to natural rights, to the common law, to private property, to an anti-Jeffersonian view of the "establishment" clause, and so on. But the fact remains that both Story and constitutional history somehow get pretty badly mauled in the process. The author's analysis is permeated with declarative propositions rendered up as categorically true when in fact they are questionable, controversial, doubtful, or distorted.

For example, Story's repudiation of Locke, natural rights doctrine, and the compact theory of the state was nowhere near as unconditional as the author would have us believe; instead, substantial portions of Story's anonymous essay on natural law sound suspiciously like the Declaration of Independence and the "Second Essay." Neither is the federal Bill of Rights best characterized as "a states rights document." The limitations on federal power it imposes are primarily procedural, while even the Tenth Amendment, as McLaughlin long ago pointed out, is merely declaratory and does not alter the essential nature of the federal system. Nor was Story's commitment to Christianity as a part of the common law quite as unconditional as the author asserts. Story's piety was that of a strong Unitarian, and even his opinions that deal with church-state relations, such as that in *Terrett* v. *Taylor,* have a secular philosophic flavor. It all adds up to an old story: history and polemics don't mix very well.

ALFRED H. KELLY
Wayne State University

FÉLIX D. ALMARÁZ, JR. *Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas, 1808–1813.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 206. $7.00.

One of the few neglected periods in Texas history has been the last years of Spanish rule, especially those dealing with the administration of Manuel Maria de Salcedo, who served as governor from November 1808 to April 1813. In *Tragic Cavalier* Professor Félix D. Almaráz of the University of Texas at San Antonio has provided the first comprehensive description of

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Salcedo's tragic tenure as chief executive of an exposed frontier harassed constantly by Comanche Indians, American filibusterers, and Mexican insurgents.

Salcedo came to Texas determined to prove his administrative capabilities to his uncle, Nemesio Salcedo, who was commandant general of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, as well as to the metropolitan government in Madrid. As Almaráz successfully demonstrates, the governor's failure to accomplish this purpose was the result more of circumstances in the Southwest than of personal shortcomings on the part of Salcedo. What emerges from this study is a classic conflict of colonial administration between a provincial governor, who senses the need for innovation but lacks the authority, and his superiors, who adhere to a more conservative and traditional policy. In the case of Salcedos these disagreements were further complicated by blood ties.

In this study Almaráz has provided an adequate, although somewhat tedious description of administrative problems and a thorough summary of both the internal and external forces that threatened to topple Spanish control in Texas. But he has been less successful in delineating the reasons for Spanish vulnerability. He has also failed to assess adequately the responsibilities of the two Salcedos for the subsequent breakdown of Spanish rule in the northern provinces. Finally, the author's annoying habit of including conjecture when he lacks sufficient evidence to draw a conclusion and the inexcusable failure of the publisher to include a map of Spanish Texas detract considerably from an otherwise attractive and worthwhile study.

ROBERT V. HAYNES
University of Houston

FRANKLIN PARKER. *George Peabody: A Biography*. Foreword by MERLE CURTI. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 233. $8.95.

George Peabody, 1795–1869, a highly successful investment banker, gained an international reputation in his lifetime as a pioneering philanthropist. Coming from a poor New England family he had to leave school to become an apprentice when he was eleven. Though an early end to formal education did not stop Peabody from absorbing such Puritan virtues as determination and integrity, it is ironic that this future benefactor of education never acquired a taste for books. Successful in his twenties as a consignment merchant in Baltimore he moved to London in 1832 and shifted to investment banking. By mid-century this bachelor with austere tastes faced a mounting problem of what to do with his fortune.

In the 1850s Peabody found a new vocation by becoming a steward for his unspent millions. Initial gifts such as £50 to free Kossuth or $1,000 to search for the missing Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin indicated Peabody's disposition if not his direction of benefactions. In 1852 he donated $1,000 toward a chemical school in Baltimore, then financed the extracting of colonial Maryland accounts from the Public Record Office, and, finally, sent an initial $20,000 to found in his home town of Danvers, Massachusetts, the first of the Peabody Institutes. Most famous of these institutes was the one in Baltimore which received $1.4 million for its library, lecture series, music school, and art gallery. Peabody's two largest bequests were the $2 million Peabody Education Fund to start schools in the South after the war and the $2.5 million Peabody Donation Fund to build housing for the London poor. Also significant were the $150,000 grants to both Harvard and Yale for scientific museums.

One must call this readable biography a good work, yet in some respects it is disappointing. As the ample bibliographic essay makes clear Parker's study rests on exposure to an enormous quantity of Peabody materials, yet the Vanderbilt Press provides no footnote references in the text. Merle Curti's foreword states that the author evaluated "the long-term significance . . . of Peabody's donation." Except for a page describing the building program of the London fund to 1962, the author simply narrates the occasion of Peabody's gifts. The book is interesting and useful but not a serious analysis of philanthropy.

ROBERT A. DAVISON
Hofstra University

JAMES BREWER STEWART. *Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics*. Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1970. Pp. xiv, 318. $8.50.

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RONALD T. TAKAKI. *A Pro-Slavery Crusade: The Agitation to Reopen the African Slave Trade.* New York: Free Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 276. $7.95.

Professor Stewart's biography of Giddings is splendid; it joins the growing list of first-rate accounts of leading antislavery figures that have appeared in the past dozen years, like Frank Gatell's study of John G. Palfrey, Richard Sewell's of John P. Hale, Walter Merrill's of Garrison, Patrick Riddleburger's of Julian, Fawn Brodie's of Stevens, Wyatt-Brown's of Tappan, and Benjamin Quarles's of Douglass.

Giddings, who served as a Whig and a Republican in the House from 1838 to 1859, displayed, as Stewart writes, "astounding tenacity" in his courageous opposition to slavery and in his effective efforts to disassociate the federal government from any role in its maintenance. The problems faced and the tactics employed in this effort form the contents of the book; one of its main points—persuasively argued—is that the radical wing of the antislavery movement exercised "an important influence on political parties in the 1850's" (p. 256). In this and in other respects, Stewart's book successfully challenges views expressed by distinguished scholars including Stanley Elkins, Gilbert H. Barnes, David Donald, and Dwight L. Dumond.

Professor Stewart makes a false distinction, in my view, between what he calls "true revolutionaries, like Garrison" and Giddings as a "successful . . . practitioner of radical politics"; this occurs in his preface and reappears as a kind of theme in the volume. I would suggest that successful practitioners of radical politics are prime illustrations of true revolutionaries; in any case, somewhat contradicting this theme is Stewart's own demonstration of the mutual help provided by the radical Abolitionists and the functioning politicians of antislavery.

Stewart also makes the Garrisonians identical with the radical Abolitionists; actually they were but one wing in that movement and after 1845 not the most significant. The mistake produces a sentence like this: "Garrisonians alone continued to espouse the unsullied ideal of Negro emancipation" (p. 53). What becomes, then, of a person like Frederick Douglass? The Garrisonians were pacifistic anarchists; Stewart's missing this fact hurts his analysis. The history of the development within that movement toward a political and then a militant stance (traced by me in an essay published in the *Journal of Negro History* in 1939) apparently is not known to the author. Since, as he shows, Giddings himself followed that path, this omission is costly.

The main point about Giddings, however, is that he "had met the moral questions of his day courageously and by serving his conscience had quickened the sensibilities of his generation to respond to urgent questions" (p. 275). Biographies of such figures certainly are merited (and needed); Stewart's is worthy of its subject.

While Professor Stewart's work deals with an antislavery crusader Professor Takaki's treats of "a pro-slavery crusade," that is, *The Agitation to Reopen the African Slave Trade.* It is the first book on the subject; the neglect has been due to factors other than importance for there is no doubt at all of the significance of this movement.

The details and the arguments supporting this effort, and those opposing it, are set forth at length—excessive length, for a fault of the book is its repetitiousness. The strength of Professor Takaki's work lies not only in its full treatment of a matter hitherto neglected; it lies also in his demonstration that the movement sprang out of "a concern for the preservation of slaveholding class hegemony and Southern white supremacy" (p. 242). That is, that the slaveholding society felt itself threatened from both within (and this book deals only with the threat from the poorer whites, not the slaves) and from without—from the development of a nonslaveholding society in the North and the increasing hostility toward slavery in Europe. Roger Shugg showed the internal threat for one state (Louisiana) back in 1939, and Takaki notes this work, although I think he does not sufficiently integrate it within his own book; also in 1939, I treated at length "Class Conflicts Within the South, 1850–1860" and the evidence therein mustered would further bulwark this feature of Takaki's effort.

Takaki also quite correctly stresses the moral dilemma, as it were, in a society founded on slavery and insisting upon the "positive good" of that institution and simultaneously agreeing to the outlawry of international trade in slaves.

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The Confederate Constitution held to this prohibition but only, as the author shows, to appease the Border States; it was hoped that once the Confederacy was firmly established, the trade might then be legalized.

The research in this book seems on the whole to have been thorough; only one point: W. E. B. Du Bois's *Suppression of the Slave Trade* (1896) is mentioned by Takaki but only in terms of data on the trade. Actually, Du Bois's chapter 11 in that book dealt at considerable length and acutely with the effort to legalize the trade. This is but another instance of the dozens of subjects in which Du Bois pioneered; in fact, Takaki's work does not make that eleventh chapter of an 1896 book obsolete.

HERBERT APTHEKER
Bryn Mawr College

HENRY COHEN. *Business and Politics in America from the Age of Jackson to the Civil War: The Career Biography of W. W. Corcoran.* (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, Number 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1971. Pp. xvii, 409. $13.50.

William Wilson Corcoran was the son of Thomas Corcoran, an Irish immigrant who had prospered modestly during the early years of the Republic as a merchant, real estate dealer, and politician in Georgetown, D.C. Thomas had important connections with the Democratic party, but a more important bequest to his son was his friendship with the powerful Riggs family, and most especially Elisha Riggs of New York whose son George W. Riggs became young Corcoran's partner in the investment banking house of Corcoran and Riggs in 1840. The partnership (in which Corcoran was always the dominant member) specialized heavily in the government loan business, which became significant during the deep depression of the early 1840s. The firm's greatest coup, however, was consummated during the Mexican War when Corcoran, with supreme audacity given his then modest resources, bid for the entire $18,000,000 government loan of February 1847. His gamble was successful with Corcoran and Riggs taking the lion's share of the issue. Astutely controlling the market Corcoran was able to dispose of the securities at considerable advance in price, laying the foundation for one of America's first great fortunes. His operations with respect to the war loan of 1848 soundly established Corcoran's reputation as one of the premier financiers of his time. In this case Corcoran was able to form what Fritz Redlich has called "an embryonic international syndicate" in which London merchant bankers led by the Barings subscribed heavily.

Corcoran was a Democrat who managed to prosper no matter which party was in power. He kept government deposits even after the establishment of the Independent Treasury, and his relations with Whig administrations were notably cordial and profitable. This cozy relationship with the power elite of both parties was not hindered by the fact that Corcoran distributed bribes and loans to politicians with a lavish hand. Dr. Cohen does a good job of demonstrating that the Great Barbecue was by no means a post–Civil War phenomenon, but that the hors-d'oeuvres had been well laid on in the forties and fifties. Corcoran was a master at buying up depreciated paper and securities of all varieties such as the Texas debt or Indian claims and then persuading old Uncle to pay the tab. He was a corruptionist on such a scale that one is tempted to believe that the much maligned public morality of our own time is a virtual paradise of integrity by comparison.

Corcoran's power and profits owed a lot to the fact that he was the most important private banker in Washington with easy and continuous access to politicians in power. In such a strategic spot he was a vital link between Southern politicos and Northern capitalists such as Elisha Riggs and George Newbold, president of the Bank of America in New York. As a Southern sympathizer Corcoran went into exile in France during much of the Civil War. When he returned with fortune intact due to shrewd maneuvering he devoted time to his life-long pursuit of moneymaking but also to philanthropy, becoming a benefactor of various institutions, including the University of Virginia and George Washington University, and most notably the founder of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in his native city.

Dr. Cohen's book is an almost mind-boggling job of research. The notes to 230 pages of text run to more than 130 pages. The number of manuscript collections and periodicals cited demonstrate a vast amount of work. It is on

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balance, I think, an extremely useful and sometimes perceptive piece of work. The problem with the book is a certain lack of focus. Corcoran as a man and Corcoran's role in the development of investment banking come through only hazily. There is one long and rather confusing chapter called "The Great Superior Scheme" dealing with Western railroad projection in which one is at a loss to understand what it has to do with Corcoran. The author presents a rather involved thesis in which he attempts to explain the coming of the Civil War as resulting from the "disintegration" of economic forces in the 1850s. Suffice it to say in this short review that I did not find the argument particularly convincing. The history of American banking is richer for Dr. Cohen's contribution, but his book would have profited from a more thoughtful analysis of the role of the protagonist.

ROBERT P. SHARKEY
George Washington University

MARTIN KAUFMAN. *Homeopathy in America: The Rise and Fall of a Medical Heresy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1971. Pp. x, 205. $10.00.

Homeopathy presented a perplexing challenge to nineteenth-century American medicine, for although orthodox physicians dismissed it as a form of quackery homeopathy resembled a religious heresy more than charlatanism. It possessed a body of medical doctrine, a respect for education, and a positive fascination with philosophy. Doctors were "converted" to homeopathy in much the same way others were converted to Methodism or Unitarianism. Patients liked it, too, for a complex chain of reasoning led homeopaths to a belief in the efficacy of small doses in an age of heroic treatment. After surveying the rise of homeopathy in America Professor Kaufman traces the ultimately successful response of orthodox medicine. With the collapse of medical licensure by mid-century, orthodox physicians resorted to a variety of professional rather than strictly legal devices to put down homeopathy, seeking to prevent consultation with homeopaths, to bar them from "regular" medical schools, and to keep them out of the more prestigious hospital posts. Although the battle was joined, a cloud of smoke confused the lines. By the 1860s and 1870s many homeopaths, no longer "blinded" by theory, were willing to use orthodox remedies along with their own. At the same time many orthodox physicians were abandoning heroic treatment, a fact that made it possible for homeopaths to secure a measure of acceptance in orthodox medical schools and on the new state licensing boards. Finally, between 1890 and 1910, orthodox physicians, Kaufman argues, came to see Christian Scientists, chiropractors, and osteopaths as greater menaces than homeopaths and united with the latter against the newer heretics. It seems equally likely, although Kaufman does not make the point, that the bacteriological revolution was making irrelevant the kind of debate in which all parties had been engaged.

The central irony that emerges from this careful and commendable study is that the tolerance of homeopathy by orthodox medicine more or less coincided with the former's collapse. Having long craved acceptance homeopaths were easily submerged in a mass organization, the American Medical Association. At the same time, the drive to raise medical standards during the Progressive years destroyed peripheral medical schools, including many of the ones run by homeopaths who were less able than the orthodox to withstand a loss of numbers. The death certificate should read—part suicide, part homicide.

JOSEPH F. KETT
University of Virginia

PHILIP TAYLOR. *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A.* (Torchbook Library Edition.) New York: Harper and Row. 1971. Pp. xvi, 326. $14.00.

Philip Taylor, senior lecturer in American studies at Hull University, has written what should become the standard account of the Atlantic migration to the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He places it in a framework of changing technology, ideas, and institutions originating mainly in northwestern Europe and spreading eastward to affect the entire continent. Although he touches upon the circumstances of Jews and other ethnic minorities he emphasizes demographic

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changes, economic modernization, and altered life styles; he describes the influence of news from America, modes of transportation, and governmental regulations, bringing up to date Hansen's classic study of European mass emigration before 1860.

Two chapters are devoted to the ocean voyage: by sail and by steam, the latter illuminated by the author's investigation of steamship architecture. Third-class and steerage accommodations are described in detail, and a generalized diagram enables readers to visualize steerage sleeping arrangements about 1880. Never before have the variable conditions of the trans-Atlantic journey been more judiciously evaluated than in these pages.

Of the book's twelve chapters, four depict immigrant workers and their communities in the United States, their relations with native Americans, and the process of assimilation. Taylor is less interested than Wittke in exceptional individual accomplishments and less preoccupied than Handlin with the concept of alienation. Depicting rural as well as urban settlements in the United States he sees immigrants as participants in a dynamic economy "not merely as foreigners trying to build protective institutions while accepting a few American ways" (pp. xiii–xiv). Like Maldwyn Jones he observes that the time of entry into the rapidly changing American society helped determine both the experiences of the foreign-born and their influences upon the United States. In considering occupational levels, social mobility, and intergenerational differences, he incorporates insights from recent studies by Thernstrom, Timothy Smith, Vecoli, Rolle, Gans, Gordon, Glazer, and Moynihan, to mention a few.

In a measured, interpretive style Taylor applies a seasoned judgment to a vast literature. His twenty-seven page bibliography is actually a critical essay, concluding with suggestions of books in English needed but not yet written. Six maps and twelve diagrams afford perspective and comparative statistical information at a glance. Many illustrations include scenes of emigrants en route to the wharves, the interiors and exteriors of ships, Ellis Island, tenements, people at work in industrial settings, and poignant photographs of anonymous immigrants by Lewis Hine, the master of that genre. In a word, this is an authoritative synthesis that will have wide appeal.

ROBERT ERNST
Adelphi University

JON WEFALD. *A Voice of Protest: Norwegians in American Politics, 1890–1917*. (Topical Studies, Volume 1.) Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1971. Pp. 94. $4.00.

Norwegian-American Studies. Volumes 24 and 25. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1970; 1972. Pp. 300; 292. $4.00 each.

The Norwegian-American Historical Association, long a leader in the scholarly publication of immigration history, has launched a new series called Topical Studies. Jon Wefald's *A Voice of Protest* was originally a dissertation at the University of Michigan, and the minibook revision inaugurates the series magnificently.

Here we have a fascinating analysis of the persistence of Old World ideology in a New World setting and the practical application of this ideology in American politics. Wefald's thesis is clear and his argument strong: "The Norwegians, in building their communities in America, retained much of the old-country ethic, the organic qualities, the neighborly relationships, the co-operative spirit" (pp. 11–12). And what was the traditional ethic? "That folk heritage turned on the spirit of social cohesion and communalism. It stressed the notions of economic self-sufficiency and co-operation. And it included compassion for the have-nots and a concern for the common good. The Norwegian rural culture disavowed both the laissez-faire spirit and social Darwinism. It contradicted the success myth and deplored industrial-capitalistic exploitation of the genuine producers. This led finally to a common goal for the Norwegians—the goal of a co-operative commonwealth" (p. 4).

The study becomes an investigation of how this deep-rooted trans-Atlantic ideology came into conflict with the individualistic and materialistic philosophy of expanding America. Wefald shows how direct the confrontation was and how, because of the consistency of Norwegian-American attitudes and their population dominance in a large section of the upper

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Middle West, this forceful ethnic group was able to elect whole slates of local and state officials and to send influential individuals to Congress (Andrew Volstead, Halvor Steenorson, Asle Grønna, and others). In farming and politics, not in big business (despite admitted exceptions), the Norwegians made their mark; they formed a vital element in the Populist movement, the Non-Partisan League, and the Farmer-Labor party. The tables illustrating the voting record of the Norwegian-American congressmen would be pleasing to both Common Cause and the Americans for Democratic Action.

In brief, Wefald sees the same attitudes at work among Norwegian-Americans as among the stay-at-homes who also clung to their ancient heritage and in their twentieth-century reinterpretation thereof created the welfare state.

The analysis of the social concepts of the Norwegians is insightful, but a historian who always wants to go behind the background will miss an account of the proofs that can be found in that background: the age-old systems of common ownership of forests, the seasonal living together in the mountain *seter* in a system of transhumance agriculture, the sharing of risks and profits and mutual care in the fishing enterprises of the coastal villages. To the bibliography should be added a couple of studies published about the time this work was nearing completion: Sten Carlsson's *Skandinaviska Politiker i Minnesota 1882–1900* (1970), and Carl Chrislock, *The Progressive Era in Minnesota 1899–1918* (1971).

In essence the volume is a fresh challenge to our thinking about our society and the influences of immigrant contingents among us.

There is no dead wood in volume 24 of the well-established series of Norwegian-American Studies. Paul Knaplund writes of Tambs Lyche, the "practical idealist" who built "bridges between Norway and America." Einar Haugen tells of the Wisconsin schoolmaster and raconteur Thor Helgeson. Per Hvamstad and Clarence Clausen collaborate in presenting a collection of letters from a young Norwegian immigrant of the 1850s on life in Wisconsin and Iowa. Sverre Arestad introduces several short stories written in and about America's rough frontier by Knut Hamsun. Thomas I. Benson recounts the names and activities of Norwegians in the early years of California, and Knight Hoover does a similar job for New York. James Hamre translates a Thanksgiving Day address by Georg Sverdrup in Minneapolis, 1896. Neil T. Eckstein analyzes in revealing fashion the narrowness of Ole Rølvaag, fenced in as he was by his total concern with the Norwegian community and by his religious convictions but in whom the buffeting of circumstance brought a gradual modification of attitude.

In volume 25 of the same series readers of Knut Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People* and other works will be interested in the sympathetic biography of the scholar by David T. Nelson. Odd Sverre Løvoll explains the vigorous *Bygdelag* movement that drew together in middle America the natives and descendants of many local districts in Norway—a unique assertion of both provincialism and nationalism. Richard Canuteson tells of how Lars and Martha Larson gave hospitable aid to Norwegian immigrants along the Erie Canal. Gerhard B. Naeseth lists the immigrants of 1842 as the beginning of a total roster for the years 1825–50, paralleling Nils William Olsson's *Swedish Passenger Arrivals* (1967). Sverre Arestad attempts to explain the extraordinary success of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* in Seattle theater. J. C. K. Preus writes of the difficult transition from the authoritarianism of the Norwegian state church to the democratic free church in America. It is a smooth translation-summary of the memoirs of Wisconsin pastor H. A. Preus, but it is impossible to tell how much and where the basic document is abridged. Arne Hassing surveys the economic and nationalistic concern in Norway over the blood letting of emigration and the attempts of the Society for the Limitation of Emigration to realize the better life at home with improved education, widened opportunities, and so forth; the magazine *Ny Jord* urged home colonization and was a factor in increasing by twenty per cent the amount of land under cultivation. Clarence Clausen and Derwood Johnson list fifty-three Norwegian-Texans in the Confederate Army and edit a number of letters between home and battlefield. Kenneth O. Bjork, who bears the responsibility for the excellent editing of these volumes, himself contributes an account of the Quatsino colony on Vancouver Island, a com-

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panion piece to his earlier study of the Bella Coola settlement.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT
Honnold Library, Claremont

KRISTIAN HVIDT. *Flugten til Amerika: Eller drivkræfter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark, 1868–1914* [The Flight to America: Motives for the Mass Emigration from Denmark, 1868–1914]. (Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, 27.) Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1971. Pp. 557. 97 D. kr.

Students of American immigration history have long awaited a comprehensive study of Danish migration overseas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Kristian Hvidt, in less than five hundred pages, goes a long way toward meeting their needs. In doing so, he has considered Danish emigration from 1868 to 1914 against a broad background of European and Atlantic forces and trends and has made valuable comparisons with Swedish and Norwegian experience. Hvidt's major source is a vast collection of emigration records kept by police officials—overwhelmingly by those in Copenhagen, the chief port of departure for Danes and for Swedes from the southern part of their country. In all, his book deals statistically with a total of 172,000 individuals who left Denmark during the period from 1868 to 1900, after which the records are somewhat unreliable.

Having carefully analyzed his data with the help of a computer Hvidt had still to interpret it in search of the "why." His answers, cautiously offered, do not differ basically from those given by students of Swedish and Norwegian emigration, but conditions in Denmark varied considerably from those in the neighboring states. We learn, for example, that 44 of every 100 who left Denmark before 1900 were from towns and cities. Industrialization, as the author points out, came earlier in his country than in the rest of Scandinavia and attracted people from rural areas during a time of rapid population growth; this internal migration was much easier than that in Norway and Sweden, where the towns were smaller, more distant, and less familiar to the country folk. But industrial development before 1890 was too slow to absorb easily the increase in the towns, with the result that many people left for Copenhagen or for America, often making both moves. Significantly, few owners of land felt the economic need to migrate.

Hvidt finds no correlation between the poorer areas of Denmark and emigration from them. Nor did political and religious factors play an important role. Those who migrated, he reasons, were the persons who had the greatest difficulty in adjusting to changing social and economic conditions—the many rural workers (*tyende*), for example, who had to wait until after 1899 for small holdings in the homeland, artisans who were the first victims of industrialization, and wage earners responsive to better opportunities in America.

Although the book makes no attempt to deal directly with the human ingredient, it does recognize the importance of popular education and the part played by person-to-person communications. Its major contribution, however, apart from its analysis of government records, lies in its thorough treatment of the aggressive activities of steamship lines—allied to railroads, government agencies, and industry—in capitalizing on social mobility. "The sales organizations of the shipping companies," Hvidt maintains, "became the intermediaries and the connecting links between the push and the pull factors." Sensitive to the business cycle, their elaborate sales network may even be regarded as a third force, Hvidt speculates, "capable by itself of promoting waves of emigration." Perhaps so; in any case, the steamship, traveling on a regular schedule, made it relatively easy for persons eager to leave and capable of buying inexpensive tickets to migrate overseas.

The volume includes numerous tables and charts, some illustrations, an excellent thirty-six-page English summary, an appendix, and a bibliography.

KENNETH O. BJORK
St. Olaf College

WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON. *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters.* (The Lancehead Series: Nevada and the West.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 287. $7.00.

This comprehensive, sprightly written, and well-illustrated volume on the experience of

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foreign immigrants in Nevada is based on interviews with immigrants, a study of Nevada newspaper treatments of immigrant life, and an analysis of fiction as related to Nevada immigrant themes. It covers a broad sweep of Nevada immigrant experience but does not purport to be an in-depth study of the history of Nevada immigrants in relation to regional or national developments. For example, various cases of prejudicial mistreatment of immigrants are described, but no effort is made to relate these to the waves of nativism identified by John Higham in *Strangers in the Land* (1963). Nor is there a discussion of the impact on Nevada of the national debate over the desirability of the "old" versus the "new" immigrants.

Although immigrants, particularly women, had difficulty adapting to the formless structure and physical problems of Nevada life, a majority felt their opportunities had been increased by going to Nevada and that their lives there were basically happy. Most of the immigrants felt that they had been treated justly and that their nationality had not hindered them.

The discussion of Nevada immigrants in fiction is particularly interesting, with observations under such headings as "The Western Motif," "The Bonanza Feature," "The Isolation Mystique," and "The Reminiscence Syndrome." There are also comments on the image of the immigrants conveyed in short stories and historical biographies.

Restless Strangers is filled with "local color": anecdotes, personal recollections, journalistic effusions, and fictional stereotypes. The book attempts to evaluate quite successfully, I think, the relationships of immigrants with each other and with "natives" and also the humor, the tragedy, the triumphs, and the failures of Nevada immigrant experience.

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON
Utah State University

PHILIP ROSS MAY. *On the Mother Lode.* (University of Canterbury Publications, Number 15.) Christchurch: University of Canterbury; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1971. Pp. 62. $5.55.

OTIS E. YOUNG, JR. *Western Mining: An Informal Account of Precious-Metals Prospecting, Placering, Lode Mining, and Milling on the American Frontier from Spanish Times to 1893.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 342. $8.95.

JOHN FAHEY. *The Ballyhoo Bonanza: Charles Sweeney and the Idaho Mines.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 288. $10.00.

These three books indicate the pattern of contemporary writing on the mining industry of the American West: in-depth local studies, concern with the importance of science and technology, and recognition of the role of the mining mogul, entrepreneur *par excellence.*

Philip Ross May, who has written extensively on the gold rushes in New Zealand, turned his attention while a visiting scholar to the etymology of the commonplace California name, the "Mother Lode." After noting that the most distinguished California historians have used the expression indiscriminately, he made a careful study of the primary sources and concludes that it was a term coined by the scientists William P. Blake and Benjamin Silliman in 1866–67 and given wide publicity in the reports of J. Ross Browne. Events in western Nevada, where the debate over whether the Comstock Lode was one or many involving titles to millions of dollars of property, precipitated a discussion of the geology of the Sierra, particularly the nature of the "mother vein" or "mother lode." Thus an expression associated with quartz mining, coined a decade and a half after the height of the California gold rush, has been identified with the earlier period of placer mining activity. Some historians will dismiss this study as much ado about a minor point, but it should be noted that in Australasia "local history" is accorded more respect than in the United States. Some of the most widely acclaimed books are reviewed under this classification in the professional journals, and scholars have gained national recognition for their competence in this genre. May's book is characterized by the intensive examination of evidence comparable to Rodman W. Paul's *The California Gold Discovery* (1966).

Otis Young, Jr. has undertaken a discussion of the exact methods, up to 1893, whereby gold and silver were taken from the earth in the American West. This basic phase of mining history has been passed over by historians dealing with the romantic mining rushes and the

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story of profits and loss as too technical and uninteresting. In discussing the art of prospecting, Young notes that the fundamentals were understood by the Egyptians; basic assaying methods were elaborated on by Arab philosophers and perfected by Germans experimenting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their knowledge was transmitted by the Spanish who added experience with crushing, smelting, and the use of mercury. Young uses the California gold rush as an introduction to a discussion of placering, washing, sluicing, hydraulicing, dredging, and concentration. Colorado provides the backdrop for an analysis of all phases of quartz mining; Nevada's Comstock for timbering, milling, and tunneling operations; the Black Hills for chlorination and refining. The introduction of cyanidation marked the close of the frontier period in American mining, from the scientific viewpoint. Human interest is included in a section on the miner's dress and equipment; some topics such as "salting," deadly serious at the time, are handled most effectively by riotous examples. Few historians will have the scientific background and technical vocabulary to fully appreciate this book, but the volume is destined to become a classic reference work for all future investigators of mining history. In addition to the precise descriptions of technical processes, extensive illustrations and photographs, a glossary of mining terms, and a selected bibliography with critical appraisal have been included. This is not to convey the message that the volume is dull reading. Quite the contrary, for Young's style is lively, facilitated by the pungent phrase, and his humor is obvious throughout. Only a man with his unique combination of experience and personality could have produced this book that fills such a void in the history of American mining.

John Fahey has used the career of Charles Sweeney, Spokane entrepreneur, to present the history of the Coeur d'Alene mining district from 1884 to 1909. Arriving with the rush of prospectors Sweeney promoted the district's first townsite, bought and sold mining claims, finally acquiring the Last Chance on the same vein with the famous Bunker Hill. While studying geology and speculating in mining stocks, he became a charter member of the Mine Owners' Association, the first union of mining operators in the West. As such, he was involved in strikebreaking activities and, more positively, in the introduction of electricity and technical improvements in the mines. Even so, his attempt to exploit the Sullivan mine, one of the world's great zinc producers, failed from lack of technical knowledge. In time he controlled all the mining claims in the district, with the exception of the Bunker Hill, and consolidated the properties into the Federal Mining and Smelting Company with the financial backing of the Rockefeller and Guggenheim interests. Hence his career epitomizes that of the successful mining mogul who became the great power to be reckoned with in his domain. Sweeney's life is presented as a factual survey with minimal interpretation or analysis. Fahey is by no means sympathetic to the methods or personality of Sweeney; in fact, his account of management-labor conflict takes the side of the worker. The life of an entrepreneur is often gregarious and complicated, and the author has not completely overcome the problem inherent in a chronological-topical approach, such as overlapping and multiple reference—in the form of flashbacks—as he moves from topic to topic. However, much of the material in this book is new, and the technical and financial subjects are presented with unusual clarity. Professional historians would do well to emulate Fahey's dedicated archival research in personal papers and company records. The American Smelting and Refining Company joins the list of enlightened corporations that are opening files of interest to historians.

These books indicate that Western American history is still alive and well and that mining historians are turning away from the romantic narrative to consider aspects of science and business.

W. TURRENTINE JACKSON
University of California, Davis

ARCHIE GREEN. *Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal-Mining Songs.* (Music in American Life.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 504. $12.50.

Beneath the surface even of a *Gesellschaftlich* industrial society there is a vein of shared values passed on from generation to generation in

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communities of working people—a popular culture. Here and there the vein will lie exposed, crystallized in the form of a poem, a story, or a song. The enterprising miner, as he locates the outcroppings of the vein, can make a shrewd guess as to the dimensions and character of the communal experience that lies beneath.

Popular culture does not necessarily die during the transition from an agrarian society to a society of cities and machines, Archie Green argues. There can be industrial folk songs, describing work itself and portraying the life, diversions, and struggles of men and women on the job. And oral tradition should not be thought inherently more folkish than expressive forms disseminated by commercial entertainment and related media, such as radio and phonograph records. "It is still awkward to tag material disseminated largely by mass media to great numbers of people in a relatively short time with the same name used to describe word-of-mouth material slowly spread in small, stable associations." But the fact is that industrial folk songs like the eight lovingly studied in *Only a Miner* pass from back porch to recording studio, or vice versa, many times in the process of becoming traditional. Green even finds cases of folk musicians who believed they had made up a song that, in fact, they must first have heard on radio or records. His thesis that the mass media can be part of the transmission of popular culture is overwhelmingly documented.

Space permits summary of only one of the case studies, that of "the American miner's national anthem," which gives the book its title. This song apparently derived from a poem written in 1877 to contrast the death of Commodore Vanderbilt with the death of an unknown miner. Poem became song sometime in the next decade and existed in this form unpublished for more than thirty years. In 1927 Paramount Records recorded "Only a Miner" as sung by the Kentucky Thorobreds (Green found their names from the copyright office entry catalog, tracked them down, and interviewed them). Aunt Molly Jackson added Depression-born verses in a variant published in the *Red Song Book* in 1932, and a miner named Gilford sang this variant to historian Don West when both were jailed during a miners' strike in 1935. Meantime the song also took a hymn-like form (three instances) and a form adapted to Western metal mining (also three instances, including one sung by Dinger and Doughbelly Williams). A memoir published about the lead-mining town of Joplin, Missouri, together with several interviews, establish the fact that "Only a Miner" is often sung on the occasion of an accidental death in the mines and thus has a sacramental and cathartic function.

I have two criticisms of this well-built and beautifully illustrated volume. Seemingly scholarly talk about folk songs should strive to be as simple and direct as the songs themselves. At least for this nonspecialist the narrative of *Only a Miner* is too often cluttered by discussion of whether this or that folkloristic definition does or does not apply.

More important, a case about the culture of industrial workers cannot be proved by evidence from the very special world of mining alone. I know of no industrial folk songs in Gary, Indiana. Are there other outcroppings, other forms of popular culture we should be prospecting?

STAUGHTON LYND
Chicago, Illinois

MELTON ALONZA MCLAURIN. *Paternalism and Protest: Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Organized Labor, 1875–1905*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, Number 3. Negro Universities Press Publication.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1971. Pp. xviii, 265. $11.00.

Historians who write of lost causes often claim the consolation of eventual triumph for people and programs that met only defeat. Melton A. McLaurin suggests that textile unions did not fail completely although workers in Southern mills could not long sustain labor organizations nor effectively resist the economic power of employers. In the years under study McLaurin estimates that unions never enrolled more than six per cent of Southern textile workers; crushing defeats more than balanced the few minor victories. Yet if locals of the Knights of Labor soon vanished the Knights did prove that Southern workers were not uniformly hostile to unions. And if the National

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Union of Textile Workers did not survive to benefit from legislative regulation of hours and the prohibition of child labor, at least the union had "probably helped prepare the ground" for subsequent reform (p. 142). Professor McLaurin rarely claims too much in this convincing explanation of the failure of Southern textile unions.

Southern mill hands, McLaurin argues, had probably left the land more recently than their Northern counterparts and were more dependent on the mills that furnished the only industrial employment in much of the region. In other respects Southern textile workers resembled those in the North. Both faced competition from unskilled and unemployed rivals; both battled an ethic that favored employers; neither had political support; neither fully grasped the advantages of aggressive industrial organization. The racial dimension made the task of Southern organizers more difficult than, but not different from, the job in the North. For Southern workers, McLaurin insists, were not docile. In small numbers they joined unions almost as soon as the mills opened. But those unions could not match the power of employers who controlled the political, social, and economic institutions in company villages. When strikes took place, in spite of the advice of those to whom Southern operatives were accustomed to defer, a notice of eviction and the threat of black strikebreakers usually ended resistance.

Neither the Knights of Labor nor the textile unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor could protect their members from the power of employers. The Knights dissipated scarce resources in reform politics and in a badly managed strike at Augusta, Georgia, in 1886. Bad tactical advice by Samuel Gompers, among others, led the National Union of Textile Workers in 1901 into a strike in Danville, Virginia, that effectively ended the growth of that organization. In 1902 manufacturers tempted the year-old United Textile Workers of America into a premature test of strength that effectively ended that union in the South. Nor did another soon pick up the task.

This careful study is solid but not surprising and modest but not insignificant.

HENRY F. BEDFORD
Phillips Exeter Academy

GUSTIVE O. LARSON. *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood.* San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1971. Pp. x, 328. $7.50.

The title of this book refers to the attempt of the federal government, aided by the few Gentiles living in Utah and the thousands of anti-Mormons throughout the nation, to force the Saints to conform to "American" ways. The two focal points of the struggle were polygamy—that "other twin relic of barbarism"—and the temporal power of the church.

Although Professor Larson views the temporal power of the church as equal in importance to polygamy, he himself rightly de-emphasizes the church-state issue. Indeed polygamy dominates the work, and because the author ties it to the larger political issues and describes it with almost loving sympathy he has given us one of the best short accounts of that unorthodox practice. Also excellent, especially for clarity and objective conciseness, are the detailed descriptions of the legal and constitutional aspects of the crusade, the methods by which indicted polygamists ("cohabs") hid from the law, and the modus operandi of the secret church headquarters (1885–89) "on the underground."

To describe the whole struggle is to write a territorial history of Utah. Until the Republicans won over the Mormon leadership between 1890 and 1894 and thus stood to gain nationally by admitting Utah to statehood, they treated the Saints like unrepentant Confederate states as well as lewd criminals. It is a story of cruelty to men, women, and children, of spoils politics, and of tyrannous persecution. Much of it has been told before, but never in so thoroughly documented and balanced a fashion. And not least among the virtues of the book is the appreciative exploitation of the work of Alexander, Arrington, Dwyer, Hansen, Lamar, Poll, and others.

All in all, a most welcome addition to the social and political history of the second half of the nineteenth century as well as of Mormonism.

MARIO S. DE PILLIS
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

JOHN M. DOBSON. *Politics in the Gilded Age: A New Perspective on Reform.* Foreword by JAMES P. SHENTON. (New Perspectives in American His-

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tory.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1972. Pp. 200. Cloth $7.50, paper $2.95.

LOUIS W. KOENIG. *Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1971. Pp. 736. $14.95.

Historians, it appears, will never lose their fascination with a few favorite subjects. One of these, the Mugwump reform movement of the mid-1880s, provides the focus of John M. Dobson's *Politics in the Gilded Age: A New Perspective on Reform,* which unfortunately offers neither novelty nor perspective. It is, in fact, an undistinguished book that revives the interpretations of Matthew Josephson, but without Josephson's flair for anecdote and style. Presented in a format apparently designed for the college market, the study is harshly critical of the party system of the late nineteenth century, finding it corrupt, meaningless, inefficient, and unresponsive to public problems.

Divided in two sections the book first attempts an appraisal of party development through the century. The Gilded Age marked the completion of an unfortunate process, "the maturation of self-seeking party machines." Selfish politicians created powerful structures that ignored real issues, promoted false questions such as the tariff and "bloody shirt," and thwarted reformers who desired "sound, compassionate, and idealistic government." The latter, by implication, were the Mugwumps, and the remainder of the study outlines their campaign against James G. Blaine in 1884. Occasional mild criticism of Mugwump goals and methods does not temper the author's unmistakable admiration for the movement, which he presents as an intelligent, meaningful response to popular needs.

Recent scholarship, however, has moved in an entirely different direction. H. Wayne Morgan, Richard J. Jensen, and others have traced the major differences, in issues and outlook, that divided the two dominant parties. Perceptive works by Geoffrey Blodgett and John G. Sproat have placed rather severe limits on the Mugwumps' understanding of social ills, raising some doubt about their value as reform models. Lee Benson's significant reappraisal of the 1884 election does not appear in Dobson's analysis or brief bibliography. Sweeping judgments concerning the character and motives of political leaders rest on a sampling of Mugwump manuscripts rather than on extensive research in the papers of the politicians themselves. Numerous other problems could be mentioned, but, all in all, interested readers should look elsewhere for an understanding of late nineteenth-century politics.

They might, for instance, examine Louis W. Koenig's earnest and worthwhile biography of William Jennings Bryan, another favorite subject of historians. Constructed on thorough research, this volume records the familiar story of the "Boy Orator of the Platte," whose political career spanned over thirty years from its beginnings during the 1890s to its dramatic close after the 1925 Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee. Koenig contributes few fresh interpretations and agrees for the most part with the themes stressed by Paolo E. Coletta and Lawrence W. Levine. Though sometimes critical he is an ardent admirer of Bryan, "the country's conscience." After following the Nebraskan from speech to speech, convention to convention, others may concur with a Bryan opponent who remarked in 1908: "You need in the White House a good brain, and you don't need a mouth. Bryan is a mouth."

Bryan was also a figure of some complexity. Koenig credits him with broad achievements, while candidly presenting the evidence for harsher conclusions. The Nebraskan readily abandoned old friends when they threatened his power or outlived their usefulness. According to Koenig he founded "the modern Democratic Party," originating its progressive outlook and broadening its electoral base. Yet he always remained an also-ran, losing three presidential bids because of an inability to attract support from vital groups. In Koenig's view Bryan was a courageous and farsighted leader, who bravely resigned from Woodrow Wilson's cabinet rather than compromise his pacifist beliefs and who espoused reform policies that Wilson and the two Roosevelts borrowed. Yet he wavered on some important issues, clung to others beyond their time, and could claim only a tenuous connection with the later enactment of his various proposals.

A frequent victim of unfair campaign tactics Bryan was himself an expert practitioner of the smear and innuendo. His favorite technique was to link enemies to Wall Street, with or

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without justification. At certain points, particularly in accounting for Bryan's defeats, Koenig succumbs to the same temptation. Mark Hanna did not buy the 1896 and 1898 elections, nor did business intimidation determine the outcome in 1900 and 1908. Bryan's career, Koenig notes near the end, "had been largely a monologue conducted for more than three decades." Monologues ultimately grow tiresome, as many of the Nebraskan's contemporaries could attest. Thanks to Koenig's living style and thoughtful presentation, *Bryan* does not.

R. HAL WILLIAMS
Yale University

DOROTHY ROSS. *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1972. Pp. xix, 482. $12.75.

G. Stanley Hall raised his stature by writing an unusually introspective autobiography, published in 1923 when he was seventy-nine years old. Now Dorothy Ross's superb intellectual history and psychological biography gives him additional significance. Hall was a genius of sorts who involved himself in nearly every major intellectual movement to touch American philosophy, psychology, and education in the last third of the nineteenth century. During two periods of study in Germany his quest for intellectual unity led him from theology to scientific psychology. Founder of the first American department and journal of psychology, his vision for Clark University, of which he became the first president in 1888, heightened scientific and research ideals in American education. He involved teachers in a new effort to understand the nature of childhood through the child-study movement. His shift to genetic psychology in the 1890s freshened a discipline suffering from an exaggerated mechanism and in his major work, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (1904), Hall identified a distinct period of life. He recognized the importance of Freud, brought him to America, and honored him at Clark, when, Freud recalled, "in Europe I felt as though I were despised" (p. 390).

Hall is an easy man to dislike, even from a distance. He was opportunistic and devious. His relationships with his peers tended to follow one of two patterns—affectionate discipleship that shifted into competitive, even abusive, antagonism or autocratic dominance. The shaping of Hall's personality, the record of such relationships, and their importance to intellectual history are brilliantly traced in this biography. William James called Hall's personal psychology "tortuous" and observed that he hated clearness, shrinking "from any explanation that is definitive and irrevocable . . . as a *dreamer* he is bold" (pp. 240–41). These characteristics make Hall's immense influence difficult to specify. Moreover, much of his thought was cloaked in popular form, and he had an unfortunate gift for saying what audiences wanted to hear. Not the least of Ross's accomplishments is to have tolerated Hall's prose and to have provided analyses that reveal the insights buried in his ramblings. More important, this book makes informed and courageous connections—between Hall and the social currents of his day, between his ideas and those of better-remembered contemporaries, and between his psychology and that dominant today.

A brilliant mind and a questing spirit were constrained by a deep emotional malady, by Victorian standards of sex and identity, and by the very openness of American society to the social ascent of a farmer's son from Ashfield, Massachusetts. But Hall partially transcended his predicament, building his greatest intellectual achievements on what seemed a wrecked foundation, after a series of personal and professional defeats between 1890 and 1893 that would have destroyed a weaker man. His best work came after he was fifty years old. Hall's achievement was not the equal of Freud's, or even of James's. Yet this single volume takes full rank on the shelf with Ralph Barton Perry's two, and Ernest Jones's three.

HUGH HAWKINS
Amherst College

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, editor, with the collaboration of WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL. *"Dear Lady": The Letters of Frederick Jackson Turner and Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper*. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1970. Pp. 487. $10.00.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity*. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1971. Pp. xi, 315. $8.50.

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In the autumn of 1927 Frederick Jackson Turner came to the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery; thirty-six years later another historian, again of and from the Middle West, arrived at the Huntington gates. This historian had as his primary mission the writing of Turner's biography. These two volumes are benchmarks toward that biography.

At first blush it was an unlikely attraction: this scholarly, somewhat reserved, distinguished-looking historian, recently removed from Wisconsin, and the well-endowed, formidable lady, with dowager instincts, enthusiastic, dedicated, and a doer in the tradition of the Forbes-Perkins family. Yet from their first encounter in 1910 until Turner's death in 1932, these two—the erudite Harvard historian and Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper, the daughter of the entrepreneurial genius of the Burlington railroad, Charles E. Perkins—maintained a close friendship. The Turner-Hooper correspondence, which Ray Billington has so ably and adroitly edited, amply substantiates the editor's observation that each party needed the intellectual companionship of the other.

In their first meeting Alice Hooper outlined her as yet nebulous plan to establish a memorial to her father at Harvard. Turner, displaying a heretofore unexploited talent, quickly grasped the initiative and guided Mrs. Hooper's thoughts. Within a month after their first visit Mrs. Hooper contributed $1,000 to Harvard for the purchase of Western Americana; a $300 graduate fellowship in Western history followed. In late 1911 Edgar Wells, secretary of the Harvard Alumni Association, suggested to Mrs. Hooper that a formal organization would be required to systematize their efforts. So the Harvard Commission on Western History came into being. An archivist, Archer Hulburt, was quickly employed but was soon dropped when Hulburt's ambitions for a post on the Harvard faculty appeared to exceed his collecting zeal. The next archivist, Thomas P. Martin, turned out to be an eager Texan with an abundance of vision, ambition, and ability to carry out his goals. Martin's aggressiveness, matched by his success, soon had his competitors in other states quaking and shrieking about that Harvard pirate. Directors of historical societies in Vermont, Wisconsin, and Missouri wondered how Martin could dare remove from them that which they did not know existed. Milo Quaife of Wisconsin, demonstrating an amazingly short memory and apparently without a backward glance at his own stacks, protested loudly and long. How contemporary it all sounds; the divine right of manuscript curators has altered little in half a century. The Western curators could soon return to their slumbers, for by 1917 the death knell had sounded for the Harvard Commission. In addition to Western antagonism, the East, particularly the Harvard administration, offered little but benign neglect. The final blow came with the First World War, which diverted everyone's attention, especially Mrs. Hooper's. One can only speculate what Harvard's impact might have been on the field of Western history and the training of Western historians had the commission flourished. A major value of this correspondence is, of course, the insights offered into the personality of that man Turner, who, as Carl Becker once said, "laid and still lays upon us all the spell of his personality."

From the editing of the Turner-Hooper correspondence, Billington turned to answering the provocative question of from whence did Turner derive his ideas for the frontier thesis. While Turner's memory was amazingly faulty he did assist his biographer by leaving his sizeable collection of papers to the Huntington Library, replete with reading and research notes and some autobiographical correspondence. During Turner's last years, five individuals (for a variety of biographical projects) addressed queries to Turner requesting his recollections. Turner's correspondence with these five essayists—William Dodd, Constance Skinner, Carl Becker, Merle Curti, and Luther Bernard—comprises a third of the book and offers a degree of insight into Turner's intellectual cosmos.

With imaginative empathy and perception Billington has methodically reconstructed Turner's mental evolvement of the frontier thesis. Indeed, Billington, with his comprehensive style and surgical precision, has produced a major historiographical model. Teacher by teacher, book by book, Billington follows Turner's intellectual Pilgrim's Progress up to his famous essay in 1893. Billington examined the ideas of Turner's teachers and contempo-

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rary social scientists, constantly keeping in mind the intellectual milieu of Turner's generation. The result does not alter Billington's or other previous overall interpretations of Turner's teleology, but it does for the first time exhaustively document Turner's intellectual growth.

Turner's intellectual migration carried him through and ahead of the historiographical fashions of his time. On occasion he was a devotee of behavioralism, relativism, and social science concepts in general. Herein resides Turner's genius and perhaps is a partial explanation of why historians have been preoccupied for so long with his ideas. Unquestionably he was in and of the climate of his age, but he was also far in advance of his age. He anticipated research techniques that are only now being widely adopted. There is little risk in suggesting that today he would have less difficulty than many coeval historians in adjusting to social science methodology and quantatitive systems that are having such an impact on current historiography.

We can be grateful that a historian from Northwestern decided to follow Turner west.

GENE M. GRESSLEY
University of Wyoming

JOHN M. ALLSWANG. *A House for All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago 1890–1936.* [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1971. Pp. x, 253. $8.95.

John M. Allswang, holder of the Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh, is presently associate professor of history at California State College, Los Angeles. The author has explored the political behavior of nine ethnic groups in Chicago from 1890 to 1936. The study concentrates on the role played by these groups in the rise to power of the Democratic party in Chicago. Allswang centers his study on the 1920s in general and the period of 1928–32 in particular.

The author has successfully investigated the relationship between ethnic pluralism and American politics during a period of great social and political change. In doing this study he has made extensive use of quantitative analytical techniques from the various social sciences. In exploring the political behavior of the various ethnic groups Dr. Allswang concentrates on ethnic politics in Chicago to 1917, ethnic voting behavior from 1918 to 1936, ethnic party identification, political party self-conceptions, political issues, political organization, crime and reform in Chicago, and the effect of socioeconomic class on ethnic political behavior.

Professor Allswang proves his thesis that ethnicity was the major factor in establishing the voting patterns of Chicago's ethnic groups during the first third of the twentieth century. He does this by the use of basic statistical procedures, unpublished census material, election returns, the foreign language press, newspapers, manuscripts, and personal interviews. The study also demonstrates how ethnic awareness was the cause for the rise and dominance of the Democratic party in Chicago during the 1920s culminating with the election of 1932, which strongly demonstrated the continuance of Democratic trends among Chicago's ethnics.

The quantitative approach to history, popularized by such historians as Samuel P. Hays of the University of Pittsburgh and Stephan A. Thernstrom of the University of California, Los Angeles, is becoming increasingly popular among present-day urban historians. By using the quantitative approach it is evident that Professor Allswang has made a significant contribution to the area of ethnic political behavior. The book is carefully written, the charts and appendixes are clear and helpful. This work is well documented and the bibliographical essay is of value to those wishing to pursue further study in this area. Though the author's writing at times tends to get a bit too involved this should not detract from the overall excellence of this piece of scholarship. Allswang's study serves as an excellent microcosm of a general process occurring in American urban political behavior during this period.

ROBERT J. WECHMAN
Hartwick College

ARTHUR POWER DUDDEN. *Joseph Fels and the Single-Tax Movement.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 308. $10.00.

Joseph Fels, born at Halifax County Courthouse, Virginia, in 1853 into a Jewish family that had immigrated from Bavaria in 1848, became a successful commission salesman of soap

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before he was twenty. He and his brothers then began a soapmaking firm that made him a wealthy man after it began to produce Fels-Naptha soap at the company's Philadelphia factory. Through his friends in the Ethical Culture Society, Fels was exposed to many reform movements, but it was the single tax of Henry George that captured his imagination. During the depression of the 1890s he became increasingly involved in the single-tax movement, and he began to give generously to the Fairhope Association, a single-tax colony across the bay from Mobile, Alabama, in 1899. Soon thereafter he became the movement's largest benefactor and best known advocate, both in America and abroad.

Fels put so much of his time and so much of his firm's money into single-tax activities that he had a conflict with his brother Samuel, his more conservative principal partner. Fels moved to England in 1901 and promoted Fels-Naptha sales there until his death in 1914, although he returned to the United States frequently for both business and single-tax matters. The dapper, colorful little man (he often introduced himself to audiences as a "sawed-off Hebrew") quickly became involved in English land reform, pushing strongly to get the Liberal party to support taxation of land values. From England Fels moved on to crusade for the single tax in Scandinavia, Germany, France, and Italy. As one of his admirers put it, "Wherever the instincts of men revolted at the servitude forced upon them by the self-styled owners of the earth, Joseph Fels was ready to go at a moment's notice with a copy of *Progress and Poverty* in one hand and a checkbook in the other."

This useful book is based upon extensive research in archives and manuscript collections here and abroad, an indication of the author's enthusiasm for his subject. He probably had great fun in his search-research. Unfortunately the author's zest for the subject does not come through clearly and unmistakably in his writing, which sometimes taxes a reader's industry.

DAVID A. SHANNON
University of Virginia

ALEXANDER SAXTON. *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. x, 293. $8.50.

ROBERT MCCLELLAN. *The Heathen Chinee: A Study of American Attitudes toward China, 1890–1905.* [Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 272. $10.00.

A number of books have been published in recent years on Chinese immigrants to the United States and historical American attitudes toward China and the Chinese. The several volumes contain considerable information of interest and some provocative theories, but the authors differ markedly in analytical approach and geographical focus. Their interests variously lead them to emphasize such diverse topics as assimilation and foreign policy, and there are numerous points of divergence and gaps in the arguments.

Alexander Saxton's book is the more imaginative and substantial of these two recent additions to the literature. Ranging far more broadly than his subtitle indicates, he attempts to explain anti-Chinese activity in California by going beyond the familiar cheap-labor arguments. Saxton puts the agitation into a national context by relating it to the decline of abolitionist thought and to the ideas of specific figures ranging from H. R. Helper to Jack London and by contending that labor's responses must be understood in terms of the Jacksonian ethic of the worker as producer.

Some of Saxton's arguments from intellectual history are of tenuous validity; thus he does not note that anti-Chinese activity began well before abolitionist thought declined. The Jacksonian thesis needs to be weighed against other possible interpretations, and Saxton himself eventually abandons the theme. It also is debatable whether the issue of exclusion frustrated Progressive-era reform in California, as Saxton contends, and it is not wholly clear that the Chinese were indeed "the indispensable enemy" for labor and political organization. Finally, Saxton, who knows a great deal about the history of California labor and politics—though less about Gilded Age politics on the national level—occasionally becomes so immersed in analyzing their evolution that his original ideas almost disappear.

While there are some difficulties with the book, the breadth of Saxton's argument and his efforts to link local events to an important interpretive theme are impressive. He adds to his careful analysis of labor and political movements with fresh portraits of individuals such

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as Henry George, E. A. Ross, Frank Roney, Denis Kearney, and Olaf Tveitmoe. His even-handedness and sense of the irony and complexity of history also are attractive.

Robert McClellan takes a different tack from Saxton as he describes American attitudes toward the Chinese in order to elaborate the background of Far Eastern policy. This policy was inconsistent, he argues, because it was based on an inconsistent image of China. He contends further that the key to this image was the myth of Chinese inferiority, which derived from American national insecurity and ethnocentrism. The image changed after 1894, according to McClellan, as Americans expressed their feelings of superiority with more sophistication. Some also boasted of China's economic prospects, though more realistic observers belittled them.

McClellan usefully reminds us that the original American view of the Chinese in their own land as well as in the United States was unfavorable, and he recognizes that the images were not static. Unfortunately he often does not provide the setting for the colorful quotations he utilizes, and he is not sufficiently attentive to chronology. Minor errors in spelling and identification somewhat mar the readable book, while his discussion of Theodore Roosevelt, A. T. Mahan, Darwinian influences, and the Open Door seems dated. Though he describes American attitudes toward the Chinese, he is less subtle than Saxton in attempting to explain them, and he does not undertake the challenging task of demonstrating their impact on national policy.

PAUL S. HOLBO
University of Oregon

RUBIN FRANCIS WESTON. *Racism in U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893–1946.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 291. $6.95.

This book is an extended essay that discusses the concept of race as a factor in imperialism from the revolution of 1893 in Hawaii to the attainment of Philippine independence. The author's real interest is in the period from the Spanish-American War through the administrations of Woodrow Wilson. The strongest point of the book is the account of the adaptation of the Southern viewpoint on race, by Republicans and Democrats alike, as a rationale in imperialism. Briefly, the inhabitants of the new insular possessions were regarded as colored, hence inferior. The imperialists, with confidence and generally with candor, were convinced of their responsibility to civilize these lesser peoples. But they effected a compromise: the flag advanced, but the Constitution did not follow the flag. Further, both imperialists and anti-imperialists argued from the same premise of racial superiority.

Some reservations are in order. The author has failed to explain precisely the connection between the concept of racial superiority and self-government. Racially inclined imperialists were seeking justification for the responsibilities they had rather recklessly assumed. To them, the white races, especially the Teutons and Anglo-Saxons, possessed a much greater capacity to direct their own affairs than did the yellow and black races. This capacity, tempered by experience, consisted essentially in a sense of self-control wherein the minority acquiesced in the necessity for majority rule realizing at the same time that the majority would not tyrannize over the minority. In addition the author fails to discuss the connection between race and the concepts of Darwinism and Westernizing.

Weston's book is, in part, a product of its time. While the author's sympathies are with the critics rather than the apologists of race, he has written a competent, balanced account of an important subject. Occasionally the author conveys too simplistic an approach, as for example when he implies that difficulties in Cuba were due primarily to American machinations or when he disregards the position of the annexationists in Hawaii that those islands were not tropical and were therefore habitable by the white man. But he does emphasize the key points. Race was an important component of imperialism, and imperialists of both political persuasions adopted a Southern viewpoint in dealing with allegedly lesser peoples.

PHILIP W. KENNEDY
University of Portland

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR., and STEPHEN SALSBURY, with the assistance of ADELINE COOK STRANGE. *Pierre S. du Pont and the Making of the Modern Corporation.* New York: Harper and Row. 1971. Pp. xxii, 722. $17.50.

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Pierre du Pont was the prime mover in the evolution of the DuPont and General Motors companies into two of the biggest of big businesses in early twentieth-century America. This painstakingly crafted study describes with commanding scholarship what du Pont did and how (but not why) he did it.

The pre-1900 DuPont company was the closely held property of one of the oldest of America's industrial families. Pierre was imbued with a strong clan feeling and preserved the family's control of the firm in the twentieth century. But he had other qualities as well—a feeling for technology, for complex corporate financing, for sophisticated corporate administration—that superbly equipped him to meet the demands of modern big business leadership.

He appears to have been the key figure in the turn-of-the-century transformation of DuPont into the very model of a modern corporation. He oversaw the absorption of competing firms and the vertical integration of the explosives-making process through advanced and complex systems of production, distribution, plant management, and cost accounting. His cool, almost chilling managerial efficiency enabled him to obtain possession of the DuPont stock of his cousin Coleman and to maintain the company control thus gained against a challenge by cousin Alfred and other members of the family. Pierre drove hard bargains with the Allies and the United States government when World War I placed his product in great demand. DuPont's wartime profits and growth were enormous: the company's assets went from 3.4 million dollars in 1914 to 308 million in 1918. Pierre saw to it that his avid governmental customers amortized the requisite plant expansion and in this flush time moved the corporation into chemicals, paints, and other lines of business.

DuPont's enormous wartime profits allowed the company to invest largely in General Motors stock in 1917. Pierre took the GM presidency in 1920 and during the next few years worked closely with Alfred P. Sloan to make that company the dominant corporation in the automotive industry. Once again his special administrative and financial talents had full play. When Pierre turned the GM presidency over to Sloan in 1923 the modern structure of the company—its special mix of decentralized production units and centralized administrative control—had been fixed.

Surely no one man played so crucial a role in the development of that distinctive institution, the modern American corporation. Yet Pierre's personality, by the authors' choice, is given almost no attention. At first this omission is an unsettling one, but by the end of the book it does not seem so serious. For it becomes abundantly clear that the essence of Pierre's personality was its impersonality. His remarkably dispassionate business temperament—linked always to a sharp acquisitiveness and a lust for system, order, organization—superbly equipped him to oversee the evolution from family or individually run to bureaucratically directed enterprise.

The book itself has something of the quality of its subject. Its style is often colorless and understated, but it tells its story with matchless efficiency and completeness. This massive, at times microscopic, but always purposeful and controlled study is indispensable to an understanding of the coming of big business to modern America.

MORTON KELLER
Brandeis University

ARTHUR S. LINK *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Volume 12, *1900–1902*. (Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1972. Pp. xvii, 509. $20.00.

In 1900 Woodrow Wilson occupied a position that many of his fellow academicians might well have envied. Professor of jurisprudence at Princeton, extremely popular among his students and colleagues, eagerly sought after and well paid as a lecturer, he also enjoyed a growing reputation as a popular writer, while his scholarly work was achieving international renown. This volume chronicles the apogee of Wilson's career as a professor and carries him into the next great stage of his life, the presidency of Princeton.

These years for Wilson were extremely busy ones. He wrote a series of essays for *Harper's* that were expanded into the five-volume *History of the American People* (1902). He lectured frequently and was constantly importuned to speak at this gathering or to write an

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article for that magazine. Among the many requests he felt forced to decline was one to contribute a volume to the American Nation series, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. Still other invitations bespoke of the prominence he had achieved within the academic community. From Johns Hopkins came a call to assume the chair formerly held by Herbert Baxter Adams, while Washington & Lee, the University of Alabama, and Williams College all wanted him to accept their presidencies.

While little that he wrote during these years was of the calibre of *Congressional Government* (1895) or *The State* (1889), the work intensified his examination of American social and political history. He looked forward to a promised sabbatical year in which he hoped to write his *magnum opus*, a general philosophy of politics. In this work Wilson planned to rise above mere description and analysis and to lay down the basic postulates that governed considerations of the body politic.

The work was to remain a dream, for in 1902 the long-simmering resentment against the administration of Princeton president Francis Patton finally erupted. Ever since the university's sesquicentennial in 1896, the faculty had been chafing at Patton's indecision and his failure to follow up on promises to raise the academic standards of the school. Led by Andrew Fleming West the faculty had managed to push through an independent graduate school impervious to Patton's mismanagement. When the low academic performance of upperclassmen reached the brink of the scandalous the faculty again rose in arms.

Despite the admirable editorial work of Professor Link and his associates it is still difficult to piece together Wilson's exact role in the rebellion. He undoubtedly stood with the inner faculty group, constantly consulted by the alumni and trustees seeking Patton's ouster. But whether or not he himself hoped to be Patton's successor is unclear, and the suddenness with which the role descended on him clouds the issue still more.

As with the other volumes in this series, the work done by the editors stands as a model of precision and clarity. Practically none of the material is trite or irrelevant, and they have secured innumerable bits and pieces to fill in as much of the story behind the Princeton fight as we can hope for. They now plan an index volume that will complete the first third of their work, marking as it does the end of the first phase of Wilson's career.

MELVIN I. UROFSKY
State University of New York, Albany

PETE DANIEL. *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901–1969*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 209. $7.95.

Peonage—forceful maintenance of *de facto* bondage for debt—has existed on a substantial scale in the rural South throughout the twentieth century. Poor black agricultural workers have chronically incurred small debts to the planter class, and this has been the basis for the peonage farm—a modern version of the antebellum plantation. Neo-abolitionists from Fred Cubberly to Robert Coles have publicized the illegality and horrors of Southern peonage, but Justice Department apathy, bigoted local officials, fear, terror, and intimidation have assured its survival.

This is Pete Daniel's basic message, and it is familiar to students of the American South. Charles S. Johnson, Herbert Aptheker, and others have pointed to the same conclusion. But *The Shadow of Slavery* is important because it proves beyond any doubt the vast extent and enduring power of racial peonage. Thoroughly grounded in primary materials, it should convince even the most myopic attorney general that racial peonage represents no small or random violation of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Notwithstanding, the book is unconvincing on Southern planter ideology. Daniel contends that, like the antebellum planter, the modern peonage planter has forcefully controlled Negro labor to promote social stability and to minimize labor costs. Indeed pro-peonage thought is depicted as an extension of the Old South proslavery mind. This antebellum analogy seems strained, for quite unlike the slaveholder, the peonage farmer has felt compelled to deny that he has held bondsmen. He has known that his conduct has been illegal and that the Court of Earl Warren would not treat him like the Court of Roger Taney. Offering neither a "positive good" nor even a "necessary evil" defense of black bondage, the peonage

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farmer has fretted over the possibility of criminal conviction. It is true, as Daniel notes, that judicial decrees against peonage have hardly impeded peonage farming. But Daniel's own evidence suggests that the perpetual threat of criminal conviction has induced many peonage farmers to deny—even to themselves—that they have held bondsmen. This sharply distinguishes them from their antebellum predecessors who openly and often proudly acknowledged the master-slave relationship.

The book falls short on another count. Daniel concentrates upon publicized events. Chapters focus upon newsworthy incidents in the history of peonage like the Alonzo Bailey case and the Jasper tragedy. Yet the newsworthy is necessarily the exceptional. The plight of most black peons provoked neither litigation nor publicity. Unheralded conditions typified life upon the peonage farm and much more needs to be known about such conditions.

These qualifications aside, *The Shadow of Slavery* merits very serious consideration. Its message is important for historians and indispensable for the wider reading public.

LAWRENCE J. FRIEDMAN
Bowling Green University

GEORGE S. MCGOVERN and LEONARD F. GUTTRIDGE. *The Great Coalfield War.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1972. Pp. xii, 383. $8.95.

The Great Coalfield War began in September 1913 as a routine walkout of Colorado miners designed to achieve recognition of the United Mine Workers of America. Sporadic violence and brutality on both sides culminated seven months later in the pitched battle between strikers and state militia labeled (with some justification) the Ludlow Massacre by the union publicity director. A virtuoso performance by federal troops brought order to the coal fields but no reprieve for the strikers. Defeated in every way they gave up the struggle in December 1914 without having obtained a single concession from the operators.

This is history in the narrative and biographical vein, and on both accounts it succeeds admirably. Particularly impressive are the portraits of figures identified with the operators: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., absentee director of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a philanthropist whose philanthropy ignored the workers in his own mines and who, pursuing a policy of noninvolvement, became the national focus of the drama; Elias Ammons, Colorado's irresolute governor, incapable of leadership in a crisis; and Brigadier General John Chase of the state National Guard, who fell off his horse while trying to stop a parade of women seeking freedom for the imprisoned Mother Jones. Chase met laughter with the command, "Ride down the women!"

What emerges clearly from this work is the extraordinary power of corporate America in a rural-industrial setting. Among the most reactionary of businessmen, the Colorado coal operators dominated municipal, county, and—to some extent—state politics. Although the authors belatedly claim difficulty in separating the heroes from the villains, the operators qualify nicely as the latter. Not only did these "anarchists for profit" distort and mutilate the law enforcement and judicial systems, but their total rejection of negotiations, even when the union had waived the key demand for recognition, appears indefensible. The authors hypothesize that the antidemocratic climate was in part a product of frontier isolation, Frederick Jackson Turner notwithstanding. Southern Colorado, at any rate, was a far cry from Herbert Gutman's Paterson, New Jersey.

There is, unfortunately, no systematic attempt to explain why the coal operators acted as they did or why they differed from other businessmen, an omission perhaps related to the absence of an adequate survey of competitive conditions in the Western coal industry. And the strikers, although adequately treated, remain somewhat mysterious. On the whole, however, this is a remarkably good book, well written and well researched, suffering little from its origin as McGovern's 1953 doctoral thesis. The only serious error was made by the publisher, for there are no footnotes.

WILLIAM GRAEBNER
State University of New York, College at Fredonia

ROBERT G. MCCLOSKEY. *The Modern Supreme Court.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. x, 376. $12.95.

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ROBERT SHOGAN. *A Question of Judgment: The Fortas Case and the Struggle for the Supreme Court*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1972. Pp. x, 314. $10.00.

Professor Robert M. McCloskey's untimely death in 1969 deprived American scholarship of one of its most thoughtful voices. His posthumously published study of *The Modern Supreme Court* contains essays on the Stone (1940–46) and Vinson (1946–53) Courts together with seven previously published articles on the Warren Court covering the years from 1954 to 1965. Presumably Professor McCloskey had intended to expand the reprinted essays, and the lack of revision both adds to and detracts from the book. It is unfortunate insofar as major cases are slighted or left out (*Katz, Miranda, Gideon, Time* v. *Hill*), and the whole is a bit unbalanced and perhaps overly narrow. At the same time, however, the collection of articles, written over a period of ten years, provides a compelling portrait of a thoughtful student of constitutional law trying to evaluate the Court's new assertiveness. Similar to Louis Jaffe's *English and American Judges as Lawmakers*, the book reveals the struggle of a scholar bred in the tradition of judicial restraint characterized by Justice Frankfurter and increasingly attracted by many of the new results, especially in the areas of desegregation and free speech. Disposed to defend the Court as an institution, yet exceedingly wary of the new "activism," Professor McCloskey began to search for a new conception of the proper role of judicial review as well as a theory of its practical potential and limitations. The Warren Court, he commented, had shown "enough success to suggest that our traditional ideas about the range of judicial capacity may require reappraisal" (p. 10). It is a great loss that his reappraisal was cut short.

The essays are dotted with careful and perceptive comments. The dynamic relation between Court and society, the perennial question of judicial craft, the enigma of the ultimate results of a widespread acceptance of a judicial realism, and the need for a shrewd husbandry of the Court's prestige emerge as central themes. Although the emphasis is on the Court as an institution, Professor McCloskey gives attention to the attitudes of individual justices—Black's absolutism, Douglas's result-orientation, and Frankfurter's restraint. That the individual justices deserve even greater attention is suggested by the author's discussion of the determined and perhaps ultimately self-defeating decision of those major figures to hold to their own separate and rather uncompromising constitutional approaches. It is easy from the present perspective to think that more flexible attitudes might have helped unify the Court, eliminate many of the innumerable concurring opinions and dissents, and have thereby left a firmer and clearer legacy of precedent to its successors. But, of course, that might also have made many of the Warren Court's more advanced decisions impossible.

Robert Shogan's book picks up in a sense where Professor McCloskey's leaves off. A journalist assigned to cover the Supreme Court, Mr. Shogan chronicles the career of Justice Abe Fortas and the series of events that led to his resignation in 1969. It is more a story of political maneuvering that foreshadowed the abrupt demise of the Warren Court than an insightful biography of the justice. Whatever the motives that moved Fortas, they remain as elusive as they are intriguing. *A Question of Judgment* is highly readable and informative, though it remains superficial, due in large part to the refusal of some central figures to grant interviews and the undoubted desire of others to protect partisan interests. Unfortunately, too, the author contents himself with detailing generally known facts and scarcely treats what seem the more significant issues. Fortas's career raises some of the major questions about the nature of American government since the thirties: the sociological experience of the young men who staffed the New Deal and grew in an atmosphere of expanding bureaucratic power, the institutionalization of the Washington lawyer, the pattern of political accommodation among the initiated that propels government decisions, and the very way such men conceive of themselves and their public duties. All of these are crucial questions; and while they are beyond answer in any one book, it is regrettable that Mr. Shogan did not approach them more directly and thereby enable his study to speak more profoundly.

EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR.
University of Missouri, Columbia

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CANADA

MARC LA TERREUR, editor. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.* Volume 10, *1871 to 1880.* [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. xxix, 823. $20.00.

With the appearance of the third volume of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography/ Dictionnaire biographique du Canada,* the Canadian historical profession's bilingual centennial gift to itself, one may safely suggest that this enterprise will fully deserve its place on the shelf with the venerable *DNB* and lengthier *DAB.* The first two volumes of the *DCB* dealt with the years 1000 to 1700 and 1701 to 1740, respectively, entries being dated by the year of a person's death. Now the project leaps forward to what numerically will be volume 10 (for 1871 to 1880), and for the first time the criteria established for the entire undertaking may be judged against the special problems of the modern period. While this volume lacks the informative and necessary essays on New France, Indians, and other topics that accompanied the first two volumes, it contains a useful introduction by Marc La Terreur and a superb general bibliography, a feature of the other volumes as well. The volume is heavy with fur traders, businessmen, and provincial politicians, and there are fewer major biographies than we may expect for other periods—only those on Papineau, George Brown, Sir James Douglas, Cartier, and Howe exceed eight pages—so that volume 10 is somewhat less interesting to browse than were its predecessors. There are a number of gems, however: Fernand Ouellet's essay on Papineau, the presence of Blood Indians Onistah-sokaksin and Sotai-na, a number of model bibliographies that accompany the essays, of which that on Cornelius Krieghoff deserves special comment, an amusing column on a swindler, Lord Gordon Gordon, and what may be the last serious piece of writing by the late Fred Landon. The essay on Michael Willis says that the "name of his wife is not known"—it was Agnes. In all, the *Dictionary* is a triumph; the volumes are handsomely produced (typographically they are substantially superior to their Australian equivalent, which is appearing at roughly the same rate of production) and are testimony to cooperative scholarship at its best. Published by the University of Toronto Press and Les Presses de l'université Laval, drawing upon 259 contributors (fourteen from the United States, twelve from Britain, and one from Australia), this massive research tool is a bargain at its price.

ROBIN W. WINKS
Yale University

GORDON STEWART and GEORGE RAWLYK. *A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankee and the American Revolution.* [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1972. Pp. xxii, 219. $13.00.

This book is in two rather loosely connected parts, reflecting presumably the somewhat different interests of the two authors. The first part argues against the explanation of Nova Scotia's neutrality in the American Revolution made nearly forty years ago by J. B. Brebner in his *Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (1937). Brebner saw the neutrality of the New England settlers in Nova Scotia as ultimately determined by geography, that is, by Nova Scotia's isolation, poverty, vulnerability to British naval power, and dependence on British subsidy. Further, he drew a convincing parallel between the Yankee Nova Scotians' neutrality in the Revolution and the earlier neutrality, for reasons of similar helplessness, of the Acadians in the French wars with Britain. Rawlyk and Stewart dispute this and argue instead that the Yankee Nova Scotians became neutrals through an experience of religious conversion during which they came to see themselves as a special people, singled out by God to preserve the purity of old New England Protestantism.

To refute a thesis, it is necessary, of course, first to understand it. One illustration is adequate to show the shallowness of these authors' grasp of Brebner's thesis: In admitting that in 1775 petitioners in Cumberland and Yarmouth asked that they be permitted to remain "Neuter," Stewart and Rawlyk explain solemnly that this has nothing at all to do with the earlier attempts at neutrality by the Acadians because "these New England settlers would not care to link their behaviors with their 'Papist' predecessors on whose lands they were now living" (p. 70). Now Brebner had not maintained that neutrality was a cultural artifact, like clam chowder, handed on from Acadian to Yankee,

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but that it was a repeated response to the facts of Nova Scotia's environment.

The second and final part of this book is a thin and partial study of the revivalist, Henry Alline, who became the popular leader of a general religious revival, mainly among Yankee Nova Scotians, during the years of the American War of Independence. Alline is not a major figure, but he deserves more thoughtful treatment than he receives here. Stewart and Rawlyk see his thought and work almost wholly in social terms. They make him the artificer of a new sense of Nova Scotian identity that permitted Yankee Nova Scotians to accept their alienation from their New England brethren and tolerate their own colonial continuance. That such a search for identity explains in considerable degree the success of Alline's revivals no one has ever doubted. But it does not wholly explain Alline and, what is more important for Stewart and Rawlyk's thesis, Alline's religious intensity does not wholly account for Nova Scotia's receptiveness to revivalism. For, although they seem to make a good case for it, Stewart and Rawlyk vigorously deny that Nova Scotia's religious enthusiasm during the American Revolution was a rationalization of its own frustrated Americanism.

In short, Stewart and Rawlyk, treading familiar ground and fearing to come to familiar conclusions, have tried to justify their work by pretentious and somewhat spurious interpretive challenges. The student interested in Nova Scotia during the Revolution will still have to read Brebner.

W. H. NELSON
University of Toronto

LATIN AMERICA

GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL. *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 89th Series, Number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 166. $8.00.

Contemporary studies in New World slavery are at last coming of age with the recognition that not only are slave systems aspects of economic mercantilism, not only are they describable cultural organizations, they are also organic social creations with highly complex infrastructural coordinates; that the external shape of the plantation, molded by the metropole, was at the same time conditioned by the culture of the slaves and the variations introduced into that culture through interculturation and control by the masters.

Dr. Hall's book is a contribution to this new outlook and investigation and adds considerably to our accumulation of details on the subject. In five clearly written chapters she discusses the role of religion and Christian religious education, physical and legal control methods, the role of the free coloreds and free blacks and of racism as factors contributing to the control of the enslaved. In addition there is an overview and epilogue, a brief outline of methodology, and a chapter (2) entitled "The Problem of Survival of the Slave Population," where the relationship between mortality, demographic renewal, oppressive-ameliorative measures, and the development of plantations is introduced. This is a discussion, however, that might have been more profitably left to the end of the study. As it stands it assumes too much and does not develop fully enough.

This is one of the many criticisms one is forced toward in reading this book. Its organization, both structurally and analytically, leaves too many queries open. Certain sections (e.g. "Theft and the Market" in chapter 4; "The Predominance of Military Considerations during the Pre-Plantation Period" in chapter 6) are either misplaced or undeveloped. Certain themes—for example, the role of individual emancipation as a form of patronage, patronage itself being an essential tactic of control—remain virtually unexplored. In view, also, of the relatively large area allotted to the free coloreds, as distinct from slaves, one would have expected some discussion of the role of the former as control agents of the institution; though the point is well made that in St. Domingue and Cuba the free coloreds had acquired a more militant stance than in the rest of the Caribbean, especially the Anglophone areas. The major structural defect, however, is the absence of space for the discussion of slave culture. What was the nature of this culture in the New World: what elements within it prepared the African and creole black to accept or resist the system? The one chapter (3) that touches on this—"Magic, Witchcraft, and Reli-

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gion"—is too limited in its scope: the slaves' ideational and political acculturation, for example, is left out.

Nor is Dr. Hall's treatment of control any more satisfactory. There is no discussion, not even in general terms, of the subject. Therefore, no distinction is made in the work between positive and negative features of control; between conscious and unconscious persuasion, conscious and unconscious indoctrination, willing and unwilling acceptance of positions—between control and coercion. Above all, the slaves' own (unwitting) contribution to their control—intertribal, intergroup, interfunctional, color-ladder, privilege, urban-rural—is hardly discussed. *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies* turns out, therefore, to be more a description of the attitudes of the elite to the "problem" (see, for instance, the chapter on racism) than a discussion of the problem itself.

EDWARD BRATHWAITE
University of the West Indies

HERBERT CORKRAN, JR. *Patterns of International Cooperation in the Caribbean, 1942–1969.* (Jno. E. Owens Memorial Foundation Publication.) Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 285. $8.50.

From the 1930 depression the Caribbean dependencies faced unrest generated by an expanding population pressing on limited resources. Serious outbreaks of violence led to the investigations of the Moyne Commission (British) and the Taussig Commission (American). United States initiative produced in 1942 the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, which, when France and the Netherlands joined in 1946, became the four-power Caribbean Commission. The constitutional and political problems it faced were bizarre in complexity with each polity in a distinctive and evolving relationship with the mother country. The commission surmounted these problems to meet with considerable success wartime and postwar needs for regional cooperation. Much of its substantive work was carried on by two auxiliary organizations—the Caribbean Research Council, which encouraged joint projects and exchange of information, and the West Indian Conference, which provided for consultation with the local inhabitants. The commission, however, was always hampered by its inability to consider directly political questions, the limitations of its essentially consultative powers, and financial stringency. It was replaced in 1961 by the Caribbean Organization, which was more representative of the political units in the region but which foundered in 1964 largely because of the demise of the West Indies Federation. The last effort at cooperation was CODECA (Corporación de Desarrollo Económico del Caribe), created as an instrumentality of Puerto Rico, but this attempt in turn proved abortive.

Caribbeanists as well as specialists in international law and organization will find this a rich compendium of materials on the twenty-seven year effort to create an international organization in a region "where really there were no nations as such." Primary emphasis is placed upon legal and political aspects. The reader may be put off, however, by the over-extensive use of quotations from official documents when the author's judgment as scholar and exdiplomat would have served better.

DAVID D. BURKS
Hunter College

FIDEL CASTRO. *Revolutionary Struggle, 1947–1958.* Edited and with an introduction by ROLANDO E. BONACHEA and NELSON P. VALDÉS. (Selected Works of Fidel Castro, Volume 1.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1972. Pp. xx, 471. $12.50.

It can probably be fairly argued that Fidel Castro is the most controversial and charismatic man ever to play a role on the Latin American stage. Indeed, the controversy is in no small part due to the charisma. The combination makes it extremely difficult to deal with him soberly and objectively, even in a collection of his writings. The editors of the present book, announced as volume 1 of Castro's "selected works," have succeeded remarkably well in their task. The mere matter of selection of course offers a first challenge to objectivity. A further challenge is posed by the editors' treatment of introductory matter. On both scores the present volume measures up well.

Organization of the volume is simple. It includes a chronology of major events in Cuban history, a glossary of pre-1959 parties and organizations, an introduction of more than a hundred pages setting the stage from 1895 to

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1959, a supplementary bibliography, a list of Cuban newspapers and periodicals cited, almost a hundred selections from Castro's writings, an annotated bibliography of his writings from 1948 to 1958, and an index. One of the most useful parts of the book is the long and detailed introduction written by the editors. They are obviously sympathetic to Castro, but they do maintain objectivity. The introduction is satisfyingly full of names, dates, and specifics and lacking in evaluation, polemics, "Monday-morning quarterbacking," or anything of the kind. It provides an ample context for presentation of the several-score selections from Castro's writings.

The editors maintain that Castro was a consequence of his times and his milieu. "Political violence and extremism are as Cuban as the palm trees, and Fidel Castro was a product, rather than a cause, of the profound and unresolved tensions in Cuban society" (p. 27). The activism, the almost institutionalized violence, the unwillingness to compromise, and the clash of egotisms are all well described, as are Castro's driving nationalism and idealism and his abiding faith in his own and his cause's destiny.

The six parts into which the writings are divided deal with Castro's university years, "Toward the Moncada," his imprisonment, his organizing in Cuba, his exile, and the guerrilla warfare. The selections vary in length from occasional letters of a few lines to the almost sixty pages of *History Will Absolve Me* (1969). The selections include manifestoes, speeches, interviews, broadcasts, articles written for periodicals, directives to military subordinates, and others. All are carefully documented and have helpful explanatory footnotes.

Such an anthology of Castro's writings has long been needed. The editors have performed a service in giving it to us in so carefully prepared a fashion. Latin Americanists will await with interest the continuation of the series.

RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON
University of California, Santa Barbara

EDWARD BRATHWAITE. *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xvi, 374. $16.00.

Edward Brathwaite points out that past historians of the West Indies generally have been concerned with the mercantile, colonial, and constitutional aspects of the area's history. His book is an attempt to right the historical balance and to analyze the society less from the imperial vantage point than from the local one. Brathwaite argues that between 1770 and 1820, Jamaica witnessed the development of a society that contained blacks, whites, and their colored offspring and that created its own distinctive culture. The culture was neither British nor African but rather creole. Two revolutions during the period, the American and what he calls the "humanitarian," encouraged the growth of this creole culture.

Both whites and blacks encountered obstacles in becoming truly creole. Whites had to deal with the problem of being both Jamaican and English, creole and colonial. Africans faced the dilemma of attempting to identify with their remembered African culture while coming to terms with their situation as slaves. The resulting confrontation in a strange environment produced a new culture, one part reflecting the tradition of the plantocracy and the other the world of the slave. A distinguished poet, Brathwaite makes good use of the art and literature of the period and succeeds in presenting a convincing picture of the creolized culture. His analysis of the folk culture of the slaves, of white attitudes toward blacks and coloreds, and black and colored reactions in white society is particularly valuable.

While adding a new perspective to this period, Brathwaite leaves some questions unanswered along the way. He notes that the "creatively creole" elements of the society were often hindered by the more "reactionary colonial" groups. Yet creoles were among those who ultimately resisted the abolition of slavery and could also be labeled "reactionary." Brathwaite does not take sufficient account of the whites' vision of Jamaica as a place of exile in cataloging the obstacles to creolization; in addition, he could have included more detail (as he did in the case of the Africans) on the process of creolization for the whites. Since the coloreds were by definition creoles the reader might have expected more analysis of their rather complex position in the society.

Nonetheless, Brathwaite has provided a use-

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ful corrective to our view of Jamaican society before emancipation. His book will be of considerable interest to historians of the West Indies, of the African and European in the New World, and of creole societies in general.

GAD J. HEUMAN
Bucknell University

ALFRED JACKSON HANNA and KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA. *Napoleon III and Mexico: American Triumph over Monarchy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1971. Pp. xxii, 350. $11.25.

ARNOLD BLUMBERG. *The Diplomacy of the Mexican Empire, 1863–1867*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 61, Part 8.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1971. Pp. 152. $5.00.

JOAN HASLIP. *The Crown of Mexico: Maximilian and His Empress Carlota*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1972. Pp. viii, 531. $10.00.

Some subjects, though often examined, continue to hold both scholarly and popular interest. French intervention in Mexico is an example. The first two works demonstrate that it is possible for the diligent and imaginative researcher to quarry a certain amount of new data, while the third shows why a familiar theme, when sprightly developed, continues to attract.

Three aspects of the Hanna book stand out. It offers a needed study of the intervention seen through the eyes of the United States government. Now the student may go beyond the comparatively brief treatment presented in older works (such as that by Callahan, Bemis, and Perkins; Blumenthal's more recent studies of Franco-American relations; Case and Spencer's up-to-date examination of American relations with France during our Civil War; and Carroll's new study of French ambassador Henri Mercier) to this full-scale view. Next, the length of time in preparation—over twenty years—is remarkable. Finally, the authors (one now deceased) tapped an astonishing variety of sources, both archival diplomatic material and personal papers, in a number of different countries. A few had been rarely or never used. Their command of periodical and secondary sources, with commentary, is also impressive. As to the contents, the presentation of American policy necessarily offers few surprises. Seward is extolled as the diplomatic hero perhaps even more glowingly than is generally conceded. In interpretation, the writers, pursuing a thought in Perkins, somewhat overdraw the Napoleonic "sinister plot" version of the intervention. So patent an interference hardly concealed monarchist intentions. Nor, in light of our previous behavior in Mexico and adjacent areas, does it seem appropriate to condemn Napoleon III's imperialism on grounds of morals as well as judgment. As for other aspects, the style, though not distinguished, is adequate, and overall accuracy is apparent. There are a few minor factual errors, suggestive of a slightly limited knowledge of French political history. Occasionally some material seems peripheral to the prime theme. With respect to significant fresh information, the amount turned up is not proportionate to the effort expended. As the result of their researches the authors feel sure that Michel de Chevalier, the marquis de Radepont, and Count Pierre de Saligny convinced Napoleon to undertake the Mexican venture. It may plausibly be so argued. However, as all Napoleonists are aware, the harder one studies the forces actuating the third Bonaparte, the more elusive becomes the bent of his mind.

As his title suggests, Blumberg presents a systematic study of the foreign policy of the Mexican regime. This has the merit of breaking new ground, no doubt because heretofore the subject was regarded as superfluous on the usual assumption that Maximilian was but Napoleon III's pawn. From the standpoint of documentation, the work interestingly illustrates what the industrious diplomatic historian can accomplish here at home through access to microfilm materials made available by cooperative embassies and at the National Archives and the Library of Congress. The author has used the dispatches of Britain, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, the Germanies, Portugal, and Turkey. Moreover, he consulted various private papers available in this country and all appropriate secondary works. Blumberg is particularly adept at identifying and analyzing the issues in Maximilian's diplomacy. Strict accuracy is maintained throughout. As a research effort the book is considerably short of the Hannas'. Yet in terms of solidity and consistency it

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may be superior. One noteworthy deficiency obtrudes: correspondence did not elicit materials from all the governments, with the result that the author did not view directly the records of Spain, the Holy See, and particularly France. He is able to get around the latter by indirect citations. While serious errors in emphasis or omissions are unlikely, only labor in the foreign archives themselves would ensure certainty. For the diplomatic historian this would appear to be a *sine qua non*.

In retelling the Maximilian-Carlota tale, Joan Haslip treads the path cleared first by Egon Corti. Since by now there is general agreement on the specific events and the principals' characters, much depends upon the skill of the portrayal. Haslip recounts the sad story appealingly. Though documentary sources are included in the bibliography, the expected absence of footnotes in the text makes it difficult to estimate the extent of their utilization. Shortcomings include a somewhat too genealogical approach to Habsburg history and occasional superficialities and inaccuracies. Thus, in describing Mexico from independence until Maximilian, Henry Bamford Parkes, a tertiary source, peaks through. Nevertheless, the book is one of the better efforts in English in the genre, less incisive than H. Montgomery Hyde's *Mexican Empire* (1946), but certainly preferable to Richard O'Connor's equally new *Cactus Throne* (1971).

LOWELL L. BLAISDELL
Texas Tech University

MANUEL PÉREZ VILA. *La formación intelectual del Libertador.* (Colección Vigilia. Number 28.) Caracas: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General, Departamento de Publicaciones. [1971.] Pp. 239.

GERALD E. FITZGERALD, edited and with introductions by. *The Political Thought of Bolívar: Selected Writings.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1971. Pp. 143. 20.70 gls.

In 1795 the king's court, or *real audiencia,* of Caracas declared Simón Bolívar, a wealthy, twelve-year-old creole orphan, to be willful and disobedient, for he had run away from the house of the schoolmaster, Simón Rodríguez. Thus Manuel Pérez Vila, in bringing to attention the *audiencia*'s decision, exposes as myth the Liberator's tremendous early devotion to Rodríguez. The author asserts that Bolívar was schooled by Rodríguez for only a few months and was influenced by him more strongly between 1804 and 1806, in the Paris years and during Bolívar's visit to Italy. Pérez Vila also finds that, contrary to popular belief in Bolívar's ignorance of military matters, his uncle-guardian, Carlos Palacios, wanted Bolívar educated as a military man, that he was taught mathematics, natural science, and cartography, that after 1799 he attended an engineering academy in Madrid, and that the books he owned included military histories and manuals of strategy and tactics. In Europe, in addition, Bolívar also learned to admire and look to as moral preceptors and guides to action French *philosophes,* classic heroes, and Napoleon Bonaparte and to believe in the workings of an ordered and progressing universe. Placed outside of more traditional, family-oriented creole society by the early deaths of his parents and wife, reacting adversely to his guardian and then to the Spanish court, and receiving a formal education largely lacking in traditional elements—although Pérez Vila thinks Bolívar may have begun school at age six at a Franciscan convent—young Bolívar came to accept an older, more secular tradition (the then-fashionable classic) as his own, a broader patriotism—to America—and with it an intense, enlightened faith in what he considered to be his sacred trust to liberate his land, believing that freedom would release in its citizens a natural goodness assuring happiness. Pérez Vila does not mention Bolívar's later disillusionment.

The author, the director of the Fundación John Boulton in Caracas, shares with his subject a number of enlightened assumptions—a greater romantic faith in the efficacy of heroes than in the workings of institutions and an essentially classic belief in character development through reading of and emulating heroic models. Pérez Vila, in order to encourage the love of reading in present-day Venezuela, writes of the books the Liberator most likely read. Oddly, the author makes too strong a case for Bolívar's probable reading of Spanish classics and gives too brief notice to his knowledge and use of the history of the New World. If Bolívar responded to the Enlightenment, the classics, and to the awakening nationalism of Europe in developing his own patriotic sentiments and

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sense of utopian Americanism, he must, more specifically, have been influenced by what he read in Marmontel's romanticized account of the Incas, in William Robertson's *History of America* (in French translation), in Camões's *Lusiads,* in histories of Brazil, Paraguay, and the conquest of Mexico, and by his acquaintance with Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. Pérez Vila in general uses evidence judiciously. He appends a very selective bibliography of some twenty-three books, a sad but correct commentary on the quality of most of the hundreds published.

On another level Gerald E. Fitzgerald makes available in paperback and in English, as he states, "representative excerpts from Bolívar's writings, as translated in *Selected Writings of Bolívar,* compiled by Vicente Lecuna, edited by Harold A. Bierck, Jr., translated by Lewis Bertrand." The translations, first published in 1951, lack the Bolivarian spirit.

PEGGY K. LISS
Akron, Ohio

JOSÉ CARLOS MARIÁTEGUI. *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. Translated by MARJORY URQUIDI. Introduction by JORGE BASADRE. (The Texas Pan American Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1971. Pp. xxxvi, 301. $8.50.

José Carlos Mariátegui was a youthful associate of Haya de la Torre, the great Peruvian social reformer and founder of today's APRA party. The two men were created in the same ferment—following in the wake of Spain's "Generation of '98"—stemming from the impact of new West European social theories upon Hispanic scholasticism. The windows thrown open to Freud's psychology, Marx's economics, Einstein's physics, and Sorel's sociology dealt a shock to the inquiring minds of young intellectuals in both Spain and Latin America at the turn of the century. Equipped with these instruments of the new social sciences they turned to the dissection of their own cultures with devastating results.

Mariátegui's *Seven Essays* was published less than two years before his untimely death in 1930 at age thirty-six. It was the culmination of his anguished contemplation about his country, and it is clearly infused with the spirit of a sensitive and compassionate man deeply concerned for Peru. It is also trenchant with profound social insight; the reader is struck with its contemporary relevance forty years later. It has profoundly influenced two generations of Latin American social theorists.

The *Essays* are a classic study whose appearance in English should make it required reading for all serious students of Latin American history and politics. The translation is graceful and a fitting tribute to this famous work. As such the book constitutes a signal contribution to the growing literature in social psychology and cultural history being translated and published by the Texas Pan American series. This outstanding series constitutes a unique resource on the cultural dynamics of Latin American societies.

Although he called himself a Marxist and socialist, Mariátegui was essentially a political economist and a cultural anthropologist. Except for occasional lapses into lyrical fervor concerning Peruvian poetry on Lenin or the workers, the *Essays* are a scholarly treatise on the development of Peru in economics, sociology, education, religion, government, and literature.

The central issue Mariátegui faced is the classic question of Western Hemisphere history: What explains the dramatic difference in development between the colonies of Spain and England? In response Mariátegui provides an examination of the cultural cradle of the Peruvian people. Peru becomes his microcosm of Spanish colonial policy. In explaining Peru he also explains the influence of the Reformation, capitalism, industrialism, and land tenure on divergent development in North and South America. In short, he provides a key to reasons why Peru has not developed a strong middle class like Brazil, Argentina, or Chile, has not experienced the social revolution of Mexico or Bolivia, is still controlled by the military and a landed aristocracy, and is characterized by an extractive economic system and rigidly stratified social structure, with the vast majority of the population illiterate, poverty-stricken, ill, riven with narcotics addiction, and shut out of the national life by language barriers.

The preoccupation of the *Essays* is the economic and social consequences of a society based upon slavery. According to Mariátegui, enslavement of the Indian by the conquista-

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dores and their descendants led to a plantation economy. This inhibited the creation of small freeholders with their middle-class norms. Without such norms Peru did not develop strong democratic government, a prosperous mercantile capitalism, or an empirically oriented educational system.

The recognition of the Indian and his identity as a cultural building block is, to Mariátegui, the first step toward Peruvian national development. He assesses the relative posture of the Church, the school, and the market place in the face of this ethnic dichotomy that lies at the heart of all contemporary social and economic problems in the country. And he brushes in with rich strokes the historical currents leading to the current environment. Peru may be appreciated more fully from the telling discourses Mariátegui has left as his heritage.

GEORGE B. LANE
Washington, D.C.

MARIO GÓNGORA. *Encomenderos y estancieros: Estudios acerca de la constitución social aristocrática de Chile después de la Conquista, 1580–1660.* (Universidad de Chile, Sede de Valparaiso, Area de Humanidades, Departamento de Historia.) Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria. 1970. Pp. ix, 243.

Using statistical reports and lawsuits from the archives of Santiago de Chile and Seville, Professor Góngora demonstrates conclusively in the first of these three studies that Spanish law little affected the shape and character of colonial Chilean society. The law visualized a segregated urban society in which Indians, living in Spanish-type towns aloof from continuous contact with Spaniards, would render to their Spanish protectors, the encomenderos, a limited amount of tribute and labor. But an incipient urbanism soon vanished, except for a few Spanish towns, with the decline of mining and of the Indian population, reduced by epidemics in the 1590s. Miners became *estancieros,* owners of cattle and wheat-raising estates, to which they persuaded or obliged their encomienda Indians to relocate where they could better serve as farmers or cowboys or weavers in the obrajes, which produced wool cloth. Though Indians continued to pay tribute to their encomendero their permanent residence on his estancia resulted in the disappearance of Indian pueblos and their lands, supplanted by informal settlements of serfs who worked the year round for a small daily wage. The phenomenon is well known, but it is set forth here in great detail and with admirable clarity. Some readers may find it surprising that few Indians complained of their lot and most felt they were well treated. Sources available obliged the author to concentrate on the capital and La Serena, a northern city where mining and limited obligatory labor persisted. A map showing pueblos of the central valley would have enhanced the usefulness of this study. The other two essays are less useful to the general reader. The second shows that the Chilean rural aristocrat excluded merchant immigrants from the highest ranks of society. Their sons or grandsons, however, who inherited lands, typically achieved the honorifics associated with rural aristocracy. The essay is supported by excessive detail, part of which is irrelevant to the topic, how tithes are collected, for example. The third and briefest study finds Chilean feudalism different from European models, owing to the impersonal relationship with the king and the peculiar characteristics of Chilean serfdom.

TROY S. FLOYD
University of New Mexico

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

TO THE EDITOR:

The publication in the December 1972 issue of this journal of R. M. Slusser's able review article on R. A. Medvedev's *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism* (pp. 1389–98), along with Vojtech Mastny's valuable essay "Stalin and the Prospects of a Separate Peace in World War II" (pp. 1365–88), should help, it seems to me, in clarifying distinctions of great importance to those concerned with the history of the recent past. The words "communism" and "anticommunism" are both amorphous and ambiguous; and there is so much substantive disagreement over contemporary history that we hardly need to compound real problems by introducing unnecessary sources of misunderstanding. In the hope of reducing gratuitous confusion, I would make a proposal for terminological precision.

This proposal first arose in my mind when I participated in a session on the American election of 1948 at the 1971 AHA convention. Younger historians in the discussion gave considerable, and unsympathetic, attention to the anticommunism of Americans for Democratic Action and other liberals in that period. It was readily apparent that "communism" and "anticommunism" meant something very different for historians born after 1940 from what these terms had meant to liberals who were active in the 1940s.

When younger historians hear the word "communism," the image that flashes into their minds is that of the Vietcong, or of the Chinese Communists, or of Castro and Che Guevara. They think in terms of a fragmented and polycentrist communist world in which communism has its vivid meaning as a spearhead of popular-nationalist efforts to reclaim political and economic independence. When they hear the word "anticommunism" the image is one of counterrevolutionary intervention in the interests of foreign holders of political and economic power.

It is obviously a temptation to transport these contemporary images back a quarter of a century and suppose that this was what "communism" and "anticommunism" meant then. But this is not at all what anticommunist liberals had in mind when they condemned communism in 1948. Communism had a clear and specific meaning for them: it meant Stalinism. My terminological plea is simply that historians writing about America in the 1940s replace the words "communism" and "anticommu-

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nism" by the more precise and accurate words "Stalinism" and "anti-Stalinism." (If the historians who have rather righteously condemned the "anticommunism" of the forties were to have used instead the word "anti-Stalinism," their writings might perhaps have lost some of their piquant flavor of moral superiority.)

Stalinism was the only variety of communism operative in America after the CPUSA's excommunication of Earl Browder in 1945–46. Though Trotskyites lingered as a political force in such countries as Ceylon and Bolivia, they had substantially disappeared as any sort of factor in the United States after the murder of Trotsky in 1940. Where communism existed in the forties as a popular-nationalist movement, as in China, American liberals, at least before Korea, were by no means militantly hostile. Even the Truman administration tried to arrange a coalition between the Kuomintang and the Maoists, refrained from military intervention in the Chinese civil war, and as late as January 1950 declared Taiwan a part of mainland China and pledged American neutrality if Peking tried to settle the Taiwan problem by force.

As for the Titoist heresy, this did not appear until 1948. Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform in June, only a few days before the convention of the Progressive party in Philadelphia. Here the Stalinists who controlled the resolutions committee got the signal and quickly deleted from the platform a plank that, by advocating a "unified homeland" for the Macedonians, would have aligned the Progressives with Tito in one aspect of his quarrel with Stalin. When the hapless Vermont delegate tried to amend the foreign policy plank by adding the statement, "It is not our intention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation," he was shouted down. Pro-Stalinist delegates attacked the amendment as "an insinuation against a friendly ally of the United States" and as a concession to red-baiting. It was this determination to give Stalinist policy a blanket endorsement that led liberals originally sympathetic to the Wallace candidacy, like the young George McGovern, to turn against the Progressive party.

Anticommunist liberals in 1948 were not concerned about Maoism or Titoism. They were not condemning popular-nationalist revolutions. When they said "communism" they meant, for better or worse, Stalinism. For practical purposes the two words in the United States at this time were synonymous. This is evident in the contemporaneous anti-Stalinist writings of American radicals and liberals, as, for example, the 1948 columns of Eleanor Roosevelt, the speeches of Norman Thomas, Dwight Macdonald's book on Henry Wallace, or my own *The Vital Center,* chapters 3 through 5.

It may be that younger scholars think that anti-Stalinism is reprehensible, too. But, in the interests of historical clarity, they should at least acknowledge that it is a different thing from the latter-day, messianic anticommunism they tend to read back into the forties. If we could agree to call Stalinism Stalinism and anti-Stalinism anti-Stalinism, we would at least know what we are talking about.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.
City University of New York

TO THE EDITOR:

I feel obliged to reply to Mr. Stern's evaluation of my book *Imperial Berlin* (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 803–04). He asserts that neither my aim nor my method is clear and that I have written neither economic nor social history. Indeed I have not. My book is an attempt to picture "das ungeheure Lebe- und Sterbewesen" Berlin through the methods of cultural history and as it appeared to me by experience and research. That I relied on printed sources will be understood by everyone familiar with the immense amount of material already available. Contrary to Mr. Stern's assertion, I have made use of statistics, though with caution, because they are subject to various interpretations.

I was, of course, aware that my undertaking would have value judgments and omissions that would not gain the support of every reader. Mr. Stern furnishes one example: "in the second empire Berlin became an a-religious city." He asserts that this statement should have been supported by facts, illustrations, and enriching reflections. How superfluous this would have been! Berlin had never been considered a religious city, as were Paris, Wittenberg, Geneva, Halle, Philadelphia, or Boston.

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Why belabor the obvious? I had already said that I believed the Enlightenment and German idealism to be the preponderant influences in the formation of the intellectual climate of Berlin.

Mr. Stern also takes me to task for giving small space to the Youth Movement. I dealt with this movement in a separate chapter of *Prophets of Yesterday* (1961); furthermore, I am convinced that the Youth Movement, to which I belonged, did not shape the profile of Berlin to any great degree. Mr. Stern goes on to castigate me for giving Ranke, with whom Stern admits I must be familiar, but a single page, but I was not writing a second monograph about the old master. I was simply taking note of Ranke's position in the overall organization of the University of Berlin. His successor, Treitschke, was infinitely more characteristic of university life during the second empire than was the irenic Ranke.

In my treatment of Fontane, Mr. Stern accuses me of presenting the reader with a mixture of biography and plot analysis in place of an interpretive essay. Fontane is practically unknown in the United States; hence I considered it essential to furnish the American reader with a sketch of his life. In addition I gave Fontane his due for establishing "a new genre in German literature, the social novel," and credited him with being one of the most perspicacious critics of imperial Berlin (pp. 168–69).

Finally, Mr. Stern objects to my assessment of Berlin's political aspect. Out of context he seizes upon the following sentence: "It is difficult to see that Ebert had a choice unless he wanted to become another Lenin," and to this Stern appends this comment, "Have we learned nothing in the intervening half century?" His question is rhetorical, and unfortunately he omits telling us what he has learned. He would have earned the gratitude of every historian who has concerned himself with the fate of Germany had he revealed his discovery.

Any critic has the right to reject a book for its style or its contents, but when his objections are offered to the public in this journal, they should be substantiated by a judgment of the entire book and not by isolated sentences that have provoked the critic's sneer.

GERHARD MASUR

MR. STERN REPLIES:

Mr. Masur's letter may help the reader to understand the difficulties I encountered in defining the character of *Imperial Berlin*. Far from disagreeing with Mr. Masur, I cited his remark about the a-religious nature of Berlin as one of the more stimulating observations of the book. I thought it a point worth elaborating. I note now a discrepancy between the author's contention in his letter that Berlin was "never considered a religious city" and his assertion in the book that it "became an a-religious city." However defined, I would have thought that the religious or a-religious life of a city deserves more than a passing mention in a work that intends to be a cultural history.

With my remark about Mr. Masur's characterization of Ebert's choices I sought to suggest that perhaps Mr. Masur could have gone beyond the uncritical repetition of Ebert's own sense of his situation. It seemed to me that fifty years later and with a host of work on the German revolution and on the SPD, one could perhaps have arrived at a more nuanced view.

In conclusion let me take note of Mr. Masur's reference to *Prophets of Yesterday* as well as of my own implicit reference to his earlier work on Ranke. It was my distinct impression that the present work was of a different quality from its predecessors, and perhaps that impression colored my review, but it was certainly not intended as a derogation of Mr. Masur's historical achievement. Quite the contrary.

FRITZ STERN
Columbia University

TO THE EDITOR:

Miss Marcia Wright, in her review of my *British Tanganyika: An Essay and Documents on District Administration* (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 820–21), says that I do not understand the context of the district officer's work. We are given nothing by way of elucidation except the remark that the context had space-time aspects. My essay not only makes that point but goes into considerable detail. Miss Wright does not explain in what ways my examination is wrong or inadequate. She then says that I turn a blind eye to the German period. The essay is on the British, not the German period. Never-

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theless it does clearly indicate that Tanganyika had been greatly influenced by the German administration, that the British had respect for the Germans and tried to learn all they could about German methods, that in many instances they built on German foundations, and that there were striking similarities in local conditions during both periods and often in German and British responses to them.

Miss Wright finds less periodization and attention to chronological sequence than she would like. But my work is presented as an essay only, a characterization, not a full-scale monograph. Still, I do point out that the British were there for an extraordinarily short time, that there was not much money, that things moved rather slowly, and that therefore there was much continuity decade by decade. The essay does speak about stages of development, and it goes into detail on what the district officers did to advance it.

Writing of an "actor's model" Miss Wright shows that she thinks I have merely swallowed what the British themselves said about their record. The book makes clear that my descriptions were based on personal observation made between 1953 and 1968 visiting district officers in bomas and on safari, listening to what was said not only by them—they were mostly close-mouthed—but by large numbers of Africans, Asians, nongovernment Europeans, and settlers and missionaries. The isolation of the district officer and his relative omnipotence are vivid realities to me, as they were to everyone I encountered in British Africa during the colonial time. I think Miss Wright overdoes the difference between the German and British periods with respect to what she calls a "heroic" era.

I have presented British Tanganyika as I experienced it as a student and a wanderer. If Miss Wright finds the picture inaccurate, then do your readers not deserve a more down-to-earth critique than this?

ROBERT HEUSSLER
St. Antony's College, Oxford

MISS WRIGHT REPLIES:

Since Mr. Heussler has disclaimed the intention of writing a serious historical work, purporting only to write of Tanganyika as he experienced it, I can only apologize for having judged him by inappropriate scholarly standards.

MARCIA WRIGHT
Columbia University

TO THE EDITOR:

Samuel H. Baron's review article on V. I. Shunkov, *Perekhod ot feodalizma k kapitalizmu v Rossii* (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 715–29), combines a thoughtful book review with some hazardously optimistic oversimplifications about the state of Soviet historiography. In particular, the political and ideological ramifications of this work call into question Professor Baron's assertion that "to all appearances the debate over the transition from feudalism to capitalism has been permitted to run its course, with the laurels going to the victor in a free competition of ideas" (p. 728).

Professor Baron comments that in 1965 a group of Soviet scholars examined "such basic matters" concerning the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Russia as "the time the process began and the manner in which it unfolded" (p. 717). Surely a far more basic matter would have been whether or not that process ever occurred—that is, whether or not Russia was ever feudal. Although Marx and Engels had much to say about Russia's institutional structure, this problem transcends mere ideology and concerns the history of many regions and periods. Toward the end of his essay Professor Baron notes rather vaguely that M. Ia. Volkov dissented from the usual Soviet view of Russia, arguing that "it should not be likened to the European absolute monarchies for it was closer to what Marx had called 'the Asiatic mode of rule'" (p. 727). Professor Baron rightly notes that the "Asiatic" concept was denounced or ignored in the Soviet Union for several decades, but he fails to mention the political reasons for such treatment of an authentically Marxist concept. According to Marx, Engels, Plekhanov, and even Lenin before his seizure of power, Russia's "Asiatic" heritage prevented that country from advancing to socialism without a prior revolution in the proletarian West. As Stalin consolidated his personal control over the Soviet Union, the

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"Asiatic" concept became a political and ideological liability. Thus in 1931 the Leningrad Conference on the Asiatic Mode of Production began the effort to classify Russia unequivocally as feudal and to end all references to the "Asiatic" concept. During the past decade, however, political considerations (rather than a mere change of mind by Soviet historians or a relaxation of party control over them) have prompted a resurrection of the "Asiatic" mode of production. French Marxists in 1962 explicitly linked these new discussions to Communist strategy in Africa and Asia, while a conference in Moscow in 1964 seems to have laid the groundwork for an ideological assault on the regime of Mao Tse-tung. (See Joseph Schiebel, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 6 [1966]: 105–23 and 7 [1967]: 318–32, and Richard Thornton, *Problems of Communism*, 17 [1968]: 71–75.) Even if one detects a glimmer of heresy in Volkov's rather timid application of the "Asiatic" concept to Russia itself, his comments were not supported by significant documentation in Marxist or non-Marxist sources, nor were they allowed to sway the conference from perfect fidelity to the Stalin-imposed view of Russia as feudal.

Professor Baron concludes that only "terminological" difficulties and "unfamiliarity with other approaches" explain the differences between Soviet and Western views on "the transition from feudalism to capitalism" (p. 729). He ignores considerable evidence of party control over Soviet historiography, even in regard to the pre-Bolshevik period. If Soviet historians were permitted to debate freely such basic issues as the existence of feudalism in Russia and the significance of the "Asiatic" mode of production, then and only then could one accept Professor Baron's idyllic conception of the lot of our Soviet colleagues. When one considers the full political background to the work in question, the gloomy assessment of Soviet historiography that Professor Baron seeks to destroy still seems more or less accurate. Soviet historians display considerable erudition of which no Western scholar should be ignorant, but certain fundamental conclusions are dictated in advance by the requirements of the Communist party.

G. PAUL HOLMAN
Georgetown University

PROFESSOR BARON REPLIES:

Most of Mr. Holman's letter is an excursus on the application of "Asiatic" concepts to Russian history. If he is obsessed with this matter, so be it; but I fail to see why I should be taxed for not concentrating on what Soviet historians are not writing about in an essay intended as a report on, and a clarification of, a real and significant controversy in which they have been engaged.

Preoccupied with cold-war clichés, Mr. Holman evidently knows only two colors: black and white. Because my depiction is not black, therefore, he thinks I have presented an "idyllic conception of the lot of our Soviet colleagues." He did not support his charge, I take it, because he could cite nothing in my article that actually sustains it. I did intend to convey admiration for the courage and honesty some Soviet historians have demonstrated under difficult circumstances.

According to Mr. Holman, I concluded that "only 'terminological' difficulties and 'unfamiliarity with other approaches' explain the differences between Soviet and Western views on 'the transition from feudalism to capitalism.'" In fact I wrote: "To a certain extent" the differences "seem to me to be terminological rather than substantive, but they are also traceable to a lack of familiarity with other approaches." Mr. Holman apparently is unaware of the distinction between "only" and "to a certain extent." He also considers these remarks an attempt at an exhaustive explanation, which they do not pretend to be.

The most egregious of Mr. Holman's misrepresentations and misunderstandings I have saved for last. My critic cannily observes that the Soviet controversy would be more basic if it centered on the question: was Russia ever really feudal? If Mr. Holman will read the last lines of my article again, he may recognize that that is what I say there.

SAMUEL H. BARON
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

TO THE EDITOR:

Oscar J. Hammen, in his article "Marx and the Agrarian Question" (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 679–704), while offering a valuable corrective

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to the view that Marx ignored the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry and suggesting in consequence a closer link between Marx and Lenin, unaccountably overlooks corroborative evidence of considerable interest.

For Marx's ideas Hammen draws mostly on writings from the mid–nineteenth century concerning Germany; for later years he relies heavily on Engels. Yet some of Marx's most trenchant statements on the peasantry occur in works devoted to France, and as late as 1871. While making some use of *The Class Struggles in France* (1850), Hammen has only one brief footnote reference to the brilliant analyses in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), where Marx distinguishes between the "revolutionary" and the "conservative" peasant and warns that "the bourgeoisie . . . is bound to fear the stupidity of the [peasant] masses as long as they remain conservative, and the insight of the masses as soon as they become revolutionary."

Hammen's most conspicuous omission, in view of the importance assigned to the work by Lenin and other Marxists and in view of Hammen's own argument that tactical considerations emerged in Marx's writings "in the presence of actual revolutions," is any reference to *The Civil War in France* (1871). To be sure, that address was devoted to the Paris Commune, which Marx defined as "essentially a working-class government, . . . the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labour" and which Engels later characterized as "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." It would then seem to be all the more significant that Marx argued that the Commune also was "the true representative" of the peasantry as well as of all other "healthy elements of French society." The "chief apprehension" of the Versailles government, he asserted, was the fear that the Commune would inspire "a general rising of the peasants."

But the address as published in 1871 contained only an abbreviated version of Marx's comments. For in two earlier drafts, which were first published in 1934 in *Arkhiv Marksa i Engel'sa* (2d ser., 3), Marx offered additional observations on the peasantry, particularly in the first draft, which was almost twice the length of the one he published. Here Marx, writing in English, asserted that the Commune would free the peasant of the "incubus of the mortgages lasting upon his plot of land" and would "restore him to independent, social and political life!" In arguing that the Commune would foster a "rising of the peasantry and the agricultural Proletariat," Marx declared that what the deputies at Versailles "fear even more than the emancipation of the townish proletariat is the emancipation of the peasants." After noting a fundamental "antagonism between the townish and rural producers, between the industrial Proletariat and the peasantry," Marx asserted that the decay of the peasant proprietor into the rural proletarian was already advanced. "What separates the peasant from the proletarian is, therefore, no longer his real interest, but his delusive prejudice."

Marx then holds out for such peasants a fascinating set of expectations from the rule of the Parisian proletariat. The Commune "is the only form of government that can secure to him the transformation of his present economical conditions, rescue him from expropriation by the landlord on the one hand, save him from grinding, trudging and misery on the pretext of proprietorship on the other, that can convert his nominal proprietorship of the land into real proprietorship of the fruits of his labour, that can combine for him the profits of modern agronomy, dictated by social wants and every day now encroaching upon him as a hostile agency, without annihilating his position as a really independent producer. Being immediately benefited by the Communal Republic, he would soon confide in it."

Because the section on the peasantry abruptly terminates there, it remains unclear how this picture of the individual peasant proprietor as a "really independent producer" would square with Marx's general view that the peasantry was destined to disappear. However, it was not only in mid-century Germany but also in France of 1871 that Marx was, in Hammen's words, "ready to give assurances to the small peasants that the revolution would not lead to the liquidation of small private ownership." The case of France is doubly interesting, because while it was in some respects an "advanced" country, by the index of the proportion of its agrarian population (about sixty-nine per cent in 1872), it was only slightly less

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backward than Germany in 1848, Russia in 1917, and probably China in 1949.

Finally, Hammen overlooks another link between Marx and backward countries. Whereas Hammen would associate Marx with the Lenin of 1917, Hammen ignores the Lenin of 1905, who in response to that revolution developed his theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," which later influenced the Chinese Communists. If the gap between Marx and Lenin seems less great to Hammen, so also is the distance from Marx to Mao and to all the other leaders of contemporary revolutions in backward or developing countries that fly the banner of the great theorist of industrial modernization and proletarian revolution, who in 1848 proclaimed himself the ally of every "revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things" and of whom Engels declared at Marx's death in 1883 that he was "before all else a revolutionist."

FREDERICK A. DE LUNA
University of Alberta

PROFESSOR HAMMEN REPLIES:

The comments of Frederick A. de Luna of the University of Alberta on "Marx and the Agrarian Question" pleased me very much, especially since they help to confirm the position that I took in my article. His reference to *The Civil War in France* as a "most conspicuous omission" on my part is very much in order. As for my failure to include more than "only one brief footnote reference to the brilliant analyses in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*," the original draft of my article went into that matter far more extensively. But I condensed my comments and demoted them to the relative obscurity of a footnote when one of my critics felt that the subject was becoming rather repetitious after all that I had cited from *The Class Struggles in France*.

If I ignored the Lenin of 1905 (aside from mentioning the earlier Lenin of 1903 in footnote 65), Mao, and the other leaders of contemporary revolutions in backward or developing countries, the omission was deliberate. But I did make a passing reference to China and to Marx's position in connection with certain "national liberation movements," as in Poland and Ireland (p. 704). My article in this respect was designed to be suggestive. I felt that readers who were far more informed on Lenin, Mao, and others could fill in the picture. Professor de Luna's response is therefore very much in line with my expectations.

If I depended heavily on Engels for information covering the later years, that was generally inescapable. Marx's capacity for work deteriorated greatly after the mid-seventies, and Engels, as the heir and interpreter of Marx, outlived the master by thirteen years. In that context I do not subscribe to the thesis advanced by some scholars that Engels somehow, even if only unconsciously, distorted or adulterated the true Marx in later years. Though Marx and Engels frequently noted a lack of comprehension in even the best of their followers, there is no evidence that Marx ever felt that Engels was deficient in that respect. And there is no evidence that Engels felt the urge to transcend Marx.

OSCAR J. HAMMEN
University of Montana

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Recent Deaths

J. Cutler Andrews, professor of history and chairman of the department at Chatham College, died in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on June 2, 1972, at the age of sixty-three. Born in Delaware, Ohio, he earned his B.A. at Ohio Wesleyan University and his M.A. and Ph.D. at Harvard, where he was a university scholar and Edward Austin fellow.

As a teacher he was highly respected by his students, especially upper-class majors who had learned to appreciate his high standards, and colleagues, who saw to it that he served on every important college committee. He began his career in 1934 at the Carnegie Institute of Technology and joined the faculty of Chatham in 1947. Other institutions also sought his services. He was visiting professor of history at the University of Pittsburgh and Indiana University of Pennsylvania. During the 1957–58 academic year he was a Fulbright lecturer in American Studies at the University of Helsinki. At the time of his last illness he was preparing to teach in Japan at the University of Tokyo and Tsuda College on a Fulbright–Hayes lectureship.

Professor Andrews was a scrupulous scholar. For two of his books, *The North Reports the Civil War* (1955) and *The South Reports the Civil War* (1970), he received the Frank Luther Mott–Kappa Tau Alpha Awards, signifying outstanding contributions to the study of journalism. Although other writers have approached this topic, Andrews exceeded them in breadth and depth of research. His graduate mentor commented accurately concerning the first of these works: "For no other war in modern times, European or American, has the news reporting been analyzed so exhaustively." Professor Andrews's articles on this and other topics have appeared in such publications as the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, Pennsylvania History*, the New York *Times Magazine*, the *Journal of Higher Education*, and the *Journal of Southern History*.

Although he belonged to several professional organizations, Professor Andrews was most active in the Pennsylvania Historical Association. He served as book review editor of its journal, member of its executive council, membership chairman, and president. Primarily because of his energetic and talented efforts, the association's membership almost doubled under his leadership. Even more important was the sage counsel he contributed at all stages of his involvement.

In addition to Professor Andrews's impressive professional accomplishments, another dimension of his life deserves recognition. He was an exemplary member of society whose disciplined enthusiasm for his responsibilities and thoroughness in pursuing them inspired the respect of those who knew him well. He was a considerate co-worker and a kind friend.

He is survived by his wife, Dorothy Peterson Andrews; a daughter, Sharon; and two sons, Kenneth and Malcolm.

John B. Frantz
Pennsylvania State University

Oswald P. Backus III died of heart failure in Bath, New York, on July 8, 1972, following his return from Poland, where he had been renewing educational exchanges between the University of Poznań and the University of Kansas. Born in Rochester, New York, on March 11, 1921, he received his B.A. from Yale in 1942 and his M.A. from Columbia in 1943. After three years of army service he resumed gradu-

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ate study at Yale in 1946 under the direction of George Vernadsky and received his Ph.D. in 1949. He also earned an LL.B. at Harvard in 1959. After 1950 he taught at Kansas, in both the history department and the Law School. He was a visiting professor at Michigan State University (1954), the University of Chicago (1960), the University of Marburg (1965–66), and the University of Bonn (1966).

Professor Backus successfully combined scholarship with academic service and administration. He served as an elected or appointed member of a number of the governing boards of historical and Slavic scholarly organizations. He was the first director of the Slavic and Area Studies Program at Kansas, and book exchanges and language programs planned and negotiated by him with libraries and universities in Finland, Poland, and the USSR played an essential role in making Lawrence, Kansas, one of the major centers of Slavic studies in the Midwest. His research focused on two topics: the influence of West Russians (that is, the ancestors of today's Belorussians and Ukrainians) upon Muscovite Russia from the late fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries, and the continuity in Russian legal history, especially as reflected in the law of theft. His publications include the monograph *Motives of West Russian Nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Moscow, 1377–1514* (1957), an edited work, *Commentaries on Muscovite Affairs by Sigismund Freiherr von Herberstein, Nyberg and Guttenhag* (1956), and fifteen articles concerning the history of Russian law and the influence of West Russians on Muscovite legal and political thought. He also prepared for publication additional book-length studies, but, after 1965, work on these projects was hindered by several serious heart attacks.

Despite recurring illness, Oswald Backus continued to be active as a scholar and administrator during the last seven years of his life. In 1966, 1969, 1970, and 1972 he worked in Polish and Soviet archives in search of materials relating to the impact of West Russians upon Muscovite government and law. In 1966–67 he was the acting director of the Kansas NDEA Center for Slavic and Eastern European Language and Area Studies; in 1969 he became director of the University of Kansas' exchange program with the University of Poznań; beginning in 1968 he served as the chairman of the AHA's Planning and Selection Committee of the Conference on Slavic and East European History for the seventh International Congress of Slavicists, which will meet in Warsaw in August–September 1973.

Both as a scholar and an administrator Backus came into contact with hundreds of historians, archivists, academic administrators, and amateurs who shared his interest in Baltic, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, and legal history. In these contacts he invariably displayed remarkable breadth of learning as well as human warmth and understanding. An impressive representative of American scholarship abroad, he spoke five languages fluently—Finnish, French, German, Polish, and Russian—in addition to English. His passing is a great loss to the scholarly community and to his friends.

EDWARD C. THADEN
University of Illinois, Chicago

GUILFORD A. DUDLEY, a member of the department of history at Arizona State University, died after a brief illness on August 2, 1972. Following completion of his doctorate at UCLA, Professor Dudley joined the Arizona State faculty in 1956. He was a specialist in the Tudor-Stuart period of English history as well as in Chinese history. He had served as secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Coast Conference on British Studies, and he was a member of the Association for Asian Studies. Professor Dudley was for six years the director of the Center for Asian Studies at Arizona State University. He had led the way to the center's creation in 1966, and under his energetic and imaginative leadership it developed a vigorous program. His last major work, *Eastern Civilizations,* was in the process of publication at the time of his death.

WILLIAM BASKERVILLE HAMILTON, a member of the department of history at Duke University since 1936, died in Durham, North Carolina, on July 17, 1972. Hamilton was born on March 7, 1908, in Jackson, Mississippi. He received the bachelor of arts degree in 1928 and the master of arts degree in 1931 at the University of Mississippi. He taught in public schools in Mississippi from 1928 to 1934. He entered graduate school at Duke University in 1934 to

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work in the field of Southern history under William K. Boyd. Hamilton's dissertation, a massive study entitled "American Beginnings in the Old Southwest: The Mississippi Phase," was completed in 1938. In the same year he married Mary Elizabeth Boyd, the daughter of William K. Boyd. She died in 1954. They had one child, Elizabeth Cavett.

In the meantime Hamilton had become converted to English history through fortuitous circumstances that led him to manuscript research in England. Appointed an instructor in history at Duke in 1936, Hamilton began teaching a course in English constitutional history, which generations of Duke students going on to law school were at first required and more recently have elected to take. He also taught graduate and undergraduate courses in British and Commonwealth history. He was a devoted and demanding teacher. Indeed his graduate seminar had a fearsome reputation, but those students who survived were grateful for the training he provided and for the support he continued to give them. Between 1955 and 1970 he directed the dissertations of twenty-seven students who are placed in institutions throughout the United States as well as in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

Hamilton was a key figure in expanding the role of the faculty in the conduct of affairs at Duke University. A university servant in the best sense of the term, he served on many influential departmental and university committees and held the highest elective faculty offices. In 1956 he became associate managing editor, and two years later managing editor, of the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* a literary journal founded in 1902 under the editorship of John Spencer Bassett. Under Hamilton's vigorous editorship it continued to give expression, as Hamilton put it, "to liberal thought in the South and to the findings and opinions of literate specialists everywhere." Hamilton edited the quarterly until his death, in addition to full-time teaching duties.

A sampling of Hamilton's publications reflect the diversity of his interests: *Fifty Years of the South Atlantic Quarterly* (1952); *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier: Thomas Rodney & His Territorial Cases* (1953); "The Evolution of British Policy in Nigeria," in the *Nigerian Political Scene* (1962); and "Mississippi 1817: An Economic and Sociological Analysis," in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (1967). Hamilton reviewed extensively in numerous professional journals and in the New York *Times Book Review.* His reviews and his writing in general were characterized by a pungent, direct literary style that led to his being cited on one occasion for that style in the New York *Times Book Review.*

Hamilton was active in numerous local and national professional societies. His research and training in the law and teaching of constitutional history led to his being appointed to the committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund of the American Historical Association in 1946, a committee on which he served for twenty years. He played a prominent part in the organization and activities of the European section of the Southern Historical Association and served on the board of editors of the *Journal of Southern History.* After the organization of the Center for Commonwealth Studies at Duke University in the mid-1950s, he participated regularly in the local and overseas activities of the center; he also took part in appropriate professional societies in the United States and abroad. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society in 1965.

For many years he had been at work on a biography of Lord Grenville (1759–1834). In the course of his research and for the benefit of his students and colleagues Hamilton played a leading role in developing substantial holdings of British manuscripts for the Duke University Library. In addition, as a result of his and others' expeditions abroad, the public documents of many British Commonwealth countries come regularly to the library. His devotion to the library resulted in personal contributions both of time and resources, and it included the setting up of the W. B. Hamilton Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts to which his family have asked that any who wish might send a contribution in his memory.

RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.
Duke University

JACK EARLE KENDRICK, a member of the history department at Auburn University, died on March 23, 1972, of suffocation from a fire in his apartment. Dr. Kendrick received the A.B. from the University of North Carolina in

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Chapel Hill in 1935 and the M.A. from Emory in 1936. He returned to Chapel Hill to study for the Ph.D., which he received in 1952. His doctoral thesis, "The Republican Senate and the League of Nations, 1918–1921," established him as a scholar.

Dr. Kendrick taught for one year at Clemson and then for three years at Auburn (then the Alabama Polytechnic Institute) before entering the Army Air Corps in 1942 for a four-year career. He returned to Auburn as an associate professor and remained there largely for the rest of his career. At the time of his death Dr. Kendrick was planning an expanded study of American isolationism between World War I and World War II.

PAYSON JACKSON TREAT, professor emeritus of history at Stanford University, died at his campus home June 15, 1972. Born in New York on November 12, 1879, to Erastus Buck and Rhoda Ann Goslee Treat, he earned his A.B. at Wesleyan University (1903) and his A.M. at Columbia University (1903). In 1903 he enrolled at Stanford to study with Max Farrand; Treat completed his doctorate under Farrand, and Stanford conferred its first Ph.D. in history on Treat in 1910. His dissertation, "The National Land System, 1785–1820" (1910), won praise from reviewers including A. B. Hart of Harvard, who pronounced it "an indispensable tool for every student of the development of the West." The book's recent reissue attests to the significance of the subject and the soundness of the author's research.

Stanford appointed Treat an instructor when Farrand accepted a visiting professorship at Cornell in 1905. During the year Treat, partly reflecting the enthusiasm of President David Starr Jordan, initiated a move to make Stanford a center for Far Eastern studies; the university granted Treat leave for 1906–07 allowing him to go to the Orient to acquire a firsthand acquaintance with the area. He traveled widely in Asia and Australasia during his leave and launched his career as a pioneer American scholar in Far Eastern history. He made extensive purchases of historical materials, especially in Australasia, making Stanford for decades the foremost repository of Australiana.Treat's course in Australian history in 1907 was the first to be given in any university—if one excepts E. D. Adams's lectures on English immigration to Australia offered at Stanford in 1904.

During the remainder of his active scholarly life Treat poured his great energy into research, writing, and teaching in Far Eastern history. Several monographs (one in three volumes) and a trade book on the diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan, a textbook on the political and diplomatic history of the Far East, as well as a number of articles published in learned journals appeared over the years. Research in his new field first bore fruit in the Albert Shaw lectures for 1917, *The Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Japan, 1853–1865*. Treat published succeeding volumes in 1932 and in 1938 bringing his study of Japanese-American relations to 1905. These monographs, his most significant publications, were based largely on the diplomatic correspondence in the archives of the State Department. All of his works are marked by careful research and objective analysis. He wrote clearly, without ambiguity, and sought to present both sides of every question with evenhanded impartiality. Treat earned the respect of the scholarly world as is evidenced by reviews, by visiting appointments at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and California, and by his election to the presidency of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in 1922. He served on the executive council of this association from 1926 until 1930.

Although Treat pioneered a new field of historical scholarship, for which the profession is in his debt, he was no ivory-tower scholar. He believed that history could illumine issues of public policy and action. In and out of class he labored to promote objectivity in thinking and acting about Japanese-American relations and to get each nation to understand the other's ambitions and interests in the Far East. It was a sad day for him when Japan and the United States went to war.

Within the university community Treat proved to be a popular and trusted colleague. He served for seven years (from 1922 to 1929) as executive head of the history department. Because he maintained the highest standards of scholarship and teaching for himself, as head of the department he expected others to meet

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those same standards. Yet he was generous of his time and of his resources. He freely loaned materials to associates, he helped younger colleagues to secure research grants, and he supported them in other ways. He insisted, however, that everyone should stand on his own feet and cultivate a sense of responsibility for what he wrote and did.

A master teacher, Treat was particularly effective in his lectures. They were meticulously organized and packed with information; he spoke clearly, concisely, and with a rapid-fire type delivery. He was a witty person, clever in repartee, and an accomplished punster. He had a rare penchant for friendship with students, alumni, and colleagues. When he retired in 1945 he estimated that he had taught over seven thousand Stanford students; he kept a file of former students and took particular interest in their children who enrolled in his classes. In retirement Treat continued to be active professionally and socially until a few years ago. Visitors noted his lively interest in the profession, the department, and the university to which he had loyally devoted himself for so long.

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES
Stanford University

Other members of the association who have died recently are John A. Hawgood of Birmingham, England, and J. W. Smith, formerly at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

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Association Notes

At the annual meeting in New Orleans, the following prizes were announced for the year 1972: The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize to Richard Hellie for *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy*. The George Louis Beer Prize to Jon Jacobson for *Locarno Diplomacy: Germany and the West*. The Albert J. Beveridge Award to James T. Lemon for *The Best Poor Man's Country*. The Albert B. Corey Prize to Charles P. Stacey for *Arms, Men, and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–45*. The John H. Dunning Prize to John P. Diggins for *Mussolini and Facism: The View From America*. The Watumull Prize to Elizabeth Whitcombe for *Agrarian Conditions in Northern India*, vol. 1: *The United Provinces Under British Rule, 1860–1900*.

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Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

Mélanges offerts au Professeur Louis Falletti. (Annales de la Faculté de Droit and des Sciences Economiques de Lyon, no. 2.) Paris: Librairie Dalloz. 1971. Pp. xv, 603.

JEAN BART, Un exposé des sources de la mainmorte bourguignonne à la fin du XIV^e siècle. FRANÇOIS-PAUL BLANC, La noblesse de cloche en France à l'époque de la première réformation (1666–1669). P. BOUDOT, Notes sur l'Eglise de Villefrancœur. G. GOULVERT, Le gentilice de *L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Apolaustus Memphius.* LAURENT BOYER, Les assemblées de parents de mineurs en Forez à la fin de l'ancien régime. MARIE-LOUISE CARLIN, Faux-monnayeurs ou complices? R. CHABANNE, Les principales étapes de la pénétration du droit romano-canonique dans la Pologne médiévale. LAURENT CHEVAILLER, Observations sur le "speculum legatorum" de Guillaume Durand. A. DEMICHEL, Palidoyer pour l'histoire. N. DOCKES, Justice et pouvoir politique à Lyon du X^e au XVI^e siècle. GEORGES DOLE, L'assistance au clergé séculier dans la France de 1790 à 1905. FRANÇOIS DUMONT, Le parfait intendant et sa formation d'après un ancien intendant du debut du XVIII^e siècle. MICHEL GANZIN, La clause de substitution dans les actes à cause de mort à Aix-en-Provence au XVIII^e siècle (1750 et 1793). J.-C. GENIN, Réflexions sur l'originalité juridique de la répression du suicide en droit romain. H. GILLES, Mariages de princes et dispenses pontificales. PAUL GUICHONNET, Une institution peu connue de la période sarde en Savoie. PIERRE GUIHO, Réflexions sur le mariage posthume. RAYMOND GUILLIEN, Responsabilité médicale et responsabilité judiciaire dans le cas de détention provisoire. M. HUDRY, Les franchises de Moutiers-Savoie d'après les Actes de 1278 et 1315. JACQUES LAMBERT, Proclamation par la Cour Suprême des Etats-Unis du droit à la régulation des naissances en tant que liberte fondamentale. MICHELINE LANDRAUD, Observations sur un contrat de mariage passé en Dauphine au XVIII^e siècle. W.-A. LIEBESKIND, Landsgemeinde et suffrage féminin. R. METZ, Le principe de subsidiarité et la revision du Droit de l'Eglise. ANDRÉ MUTEL, Réflexions sur quelques aspects de la condition juridique des Temples en Droit Romain classique. STANISLAW E. NAHLIK, Machiavel précepteur des diplomates. L. DE NAUROIS, Obligation juridique et obligation morale. R. NAZ, Les chapitres des cathédrales après l'annexion de la Savoie à la France en 1860. ROGER NERSON, Le respect par l'historien de la vie privée de ses personnages. P. OURLIAC, L'Eglise et les laïques à la fin du Moyen-Age: Etude de Droit canonique. A. PERRET, Aperçus sur le Conseil d'Etat de Savoie à Chambéry. J.-FR. POUDRET, Mainmorte et liberté personnelle au pays de Vaud à la fin du moyen-âge. G. SICARD, Un conflit entre l'Empereur et le Conseil Général de la Haute-Garonne en 1807–1808. PIERRE-CLÉMENT TIMBAL, Un cas de retrait lignacer en Picardie au XIV^e siècle. R. VILLERS, Gérard de Beseler: Misères et grandeurs de l'hypercritique. JEAN VINCENT, Juridiction collégiale ou juge unique dans la procédure civile française. JEAN YVER, Sur deux jugements du Maître-Echevin de Metz (1361 et 1376), concernant le partage successoral entre enfants de plusieurs lits.

TEMPORINI, HILDEGARD, editor. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1972. Pp. 5–28, xx, 997. DM 180.

V. EHRENBERG, Joseph Vogt. U. VOGT, Verzeichnis der Schriften Joseph Vogts. CHESTER G. STARR, The Roman Place in History. RAYMOND BLOCH, L'état actuel des études étruscologiques. MASSIMO PALLOTTINO, Le origini di Roma: considerazioni critiche sulle scoperte e sulle discussioni più recenti. JACQUES POUCET, Les Sabins aux origines de Rome. Orientations et problèmes. EINAR GJERSTAD, Innenpolitische und militärische Organisation in frührömischer Zeit. JEAN FERRON, Un traité d'alliance

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entre Caere et Carthage contemporain des derniers temps de la royauté étrusque à Rome ou l'évènement commémoré par la quasi-bilingue de Pyrgi. FRANCESCO DE MARTINO, Intorno all'origine della repubblica romana e delle magistrature. T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON, Senate and Senators of the Roman Republic: The Prosopographical Approach. HUBERT ZEHNACKER, La numismatique de la République romaine Bilan et perspectives. FRANCO PANVINI ROSATI, Gli studi sulla numismatica romana repubblicana e il loro contributo alla storia della Repubblica Romana. ERICH BAYER, Rom und die Westgriechen bis 280 v. Chr. †WILHELM HOFFMANN, Karthagos Kampf um die Vorherrschaft im Mittelmeer. KARL-ERNST PETZOLD, Die beiden ersten römisch-karthagischen Verträge und das foedus Cassianum. FRANZ HAMPL, Zur Vorgeschichte des ersten und zweiten Punischen Krieges. GIACOMO MANGANARO, Per una Storia della Sicilia Romana. ANTONIO GARCIA Y BELLIDO, Die Latinisierung Hispaniens. ROBERT WERNER, Das Problem des Imperialismus und die römische Ostpolitik im zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. LEO RADITSA, Bella Macedonica. EDOUARD WILL, Rome et les Séleucides. HEINZ HEINEN, Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Ptolemäerreich von ihren Anfängen bis zum Tag von Eleusis (273–168 v. Chr.). WILLY PEREMANS and EDMOND VAN'T DACK, Sur les rapports de Rome avec les Lagides. E. BADIAN, Tiberius Gracchus and the Beginning of the Roman Revolution. JEAN BÉRANGER, Les jugements de Cicéron sur les Gracques. EMILIO GABBA, Mario e Silla. ECKART OLSHAUSEN, Mithradates VI. und Rom. BRIGGS TWYMAN, The Metelli, Pompeius and Prosopography. VIKTOR BURR, Rom und Judäa im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Pompeius und die Juden). ANTHONY J. MARSHALL, The Lex Pompeia de provinciis (52 B.C.) and Cicero's Imperium in 51–50 B.C.: Constitutional Aspects. JOHN H. COLLINS, Caesar as Political Propagandist. HERMANN BENGTSON, Die letzten Monate der römischen Senatsherrschaft. JÜRGEN DEININGER, Von der Republik zur Monarchie: Die Ursprünge der Herrschertitulatur des Prinzipats.

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Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between July 15 and October 1, 1972. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

ABENDROTH, WOLFGANG. *A Short History of the European Working Class*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1972. Pp. 204. $7.50.

ALBION, ROBERT GREENHALGH. *Naval & Maritime History: An Annotated Bibliography*. Munson Institute of American Maritime History. 4th rev. ed.; Mystic, Conn.: Marine Historical Association. 1972. Pp. ix, 370. Cloth $15.00, paper $5.95.

AYALA, FRANCISCO J., *et al. Biology, History, and Natural Philosophy*. Based on the Second International Colloquium held at the University of Denver. Ed. by ALLEN D. BRECK and WOLFGANG YOURGRAU. New York: Plenum Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 355. $22.50.

BARNES, THOMAS G., and FELDMAN, GERALD D. (eds.). *A Documentary History of Modern Europe*. [Vol. 1,] *Renaissance, Reformation, and Absolutism, 1400–1660;* [vol. 2,] *Rationalism and Revolution, 1660–1815;* [vol. 3,] *Nationalism, Industrialization, and Democracy, 1815–1914;* [vol. 4,] *Breakdown and Rebirth, 1914 to the Present*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1972. Pp. xii, 226; xii, 220; xiii, 317; xii, 273. $3.50 each.

BERKMAN, ALEXANDER. *What is Communist Anarchism?* [*Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism*]. With a new introd. by PAUL AVRICH. Dover Books on History and History of Culture. New York: Dover Publications. 1972. Pp. xxxvi, 297. $3.00.

Bibliography of the History of Medicine, 1964–1969. DHEW Publication No. (NIH)71–297. Bethesda, Md.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health, National Library of Medicine. N.d. Pp. vi, 1475. $12.00.

BRAUDEL, FERNAND. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Vol. 1. Tr. from the French by SIÂN REYNOLDS. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. 642. $17.50. See rev. of French ed. (1949), *AHR*, 55 (1949–50): 349.

BROWN, LESTER R. *World without Borders*. New York: Random House. 1972. Pp. xviii, 395. $8.95.

BURKE, PETER (ed.). *Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from* Annales. Torchbook Library Ed. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. 169. Cloth $7.50, paper $2.95.

CAMPBELL, JOHN C., and CARUSO, HELEN. *The West and the Middle East*. Council Papers on International Affairs. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 1972. Pp. 71. $1.50.

COOK, FRED J. *The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962: The U.S. and Russia Face a Nuclear Showdown*. World Focus Book. New York: Franklin Watts. 1972. Pp. 90. $3.95. Grades 7 up.

CORNFORTH, MAURICE. *Communism and Human Values*. Little New World Paperbacks. New York: International Publishers. 1972. Pp. 72. $1.00.

DERRICK, CHRISTOPHER. *The Delicate Creation: Towards a Theology of the Environment*. Foreword by RENÉ DUBOS. Introd. by JOHN CARDINAL WRIGHT. Old Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair. 1972. Pp. x, 129. $5.95.

Disarmament: Negotiations and Treaties, 1946–1971. Keesing's Research Report. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1972. Pp. ix, 385. Cloth $10.00, paper $3.95.

DUNNING, ERIC (ed.). *Sport: Readings from a Sociological Perspective*. With a foreword by NORBERT ELIAS. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. xxii, 382. $12.50.

Expenditure Trends in OECD Countries, 1960–1980. [Washington: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.] 1972. Pp. 131. $7.50.

GARDNER, LLOYD C. (ed. with an introd.). *The Korean War*. New York Times Book. [Chicago:] Quadrangle Books. 1972. Pp. 242. Cloth $7.95, paper $2.95.

GINSBURG, HELEN (ed.). *Poverty, Economics, and Society*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1972. Pp. xx, 339. $4.95.

GROVE, PEARCE S., and CLEMENT, EVELYN G. (eds.). *Bibliographic Control of Nonprint Media*. Chicago: American Library Association. 1972. Pp. xix, 415. $15.00.

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GULDBECK, PER E. *The Care of Historical Collections: A Conservation Handbook for the Nonspecialist.* Nashville: American Association for State and Local History. 1972. Pp. xvii, 160. $5.00.

Historical Research for University Degrees in the United Kingdom. List No. 33, pt. 1, *Theses Completed 1971.* [London:] University of London, Institute of Historical Research. 1972. Pp. v, 26. 25p.

IKLÉ, FRED CHARLES. *Every War Must End.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 160. Cloth $8.00, paper $2.95.

KIMBALL, STANLEY B. (ed). *Slavic-American Imprints: A Classified Catalog of the Collection at Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville.* Cataloged by RUDOLPH WIERER and MILTON MOORE. Bibliographic Contributions No. 7. Carbondale and Edwardsville: The Libraries, Southern Illinois University. 1972. Pp. viii, 242. $4.00.

KUEHL, WARREN F. *Dissertations in History: An Index to Dissertations Completed in History Departments of United States & Canadian Universities, 1961–June 1970.* Dissertations in History, vol. 2. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1972. Pp. x, 237. $20.00.

LA FONTAINE, J. S. (ed.). *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards.* [London:] Tavistock Publications; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1972. Pp. xviii, 296. $12.00.

LAUNAY, MICHEL. *L'armistice de 1940.* Dossiers Clio. [Paris:] Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 95.

LÉVY, JEAN-PHILIPPE. *Histoire de la propriété.* "Que sais-je?" No. 36. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 126.

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Raymond E. Lindgren, California State University, Long Beach

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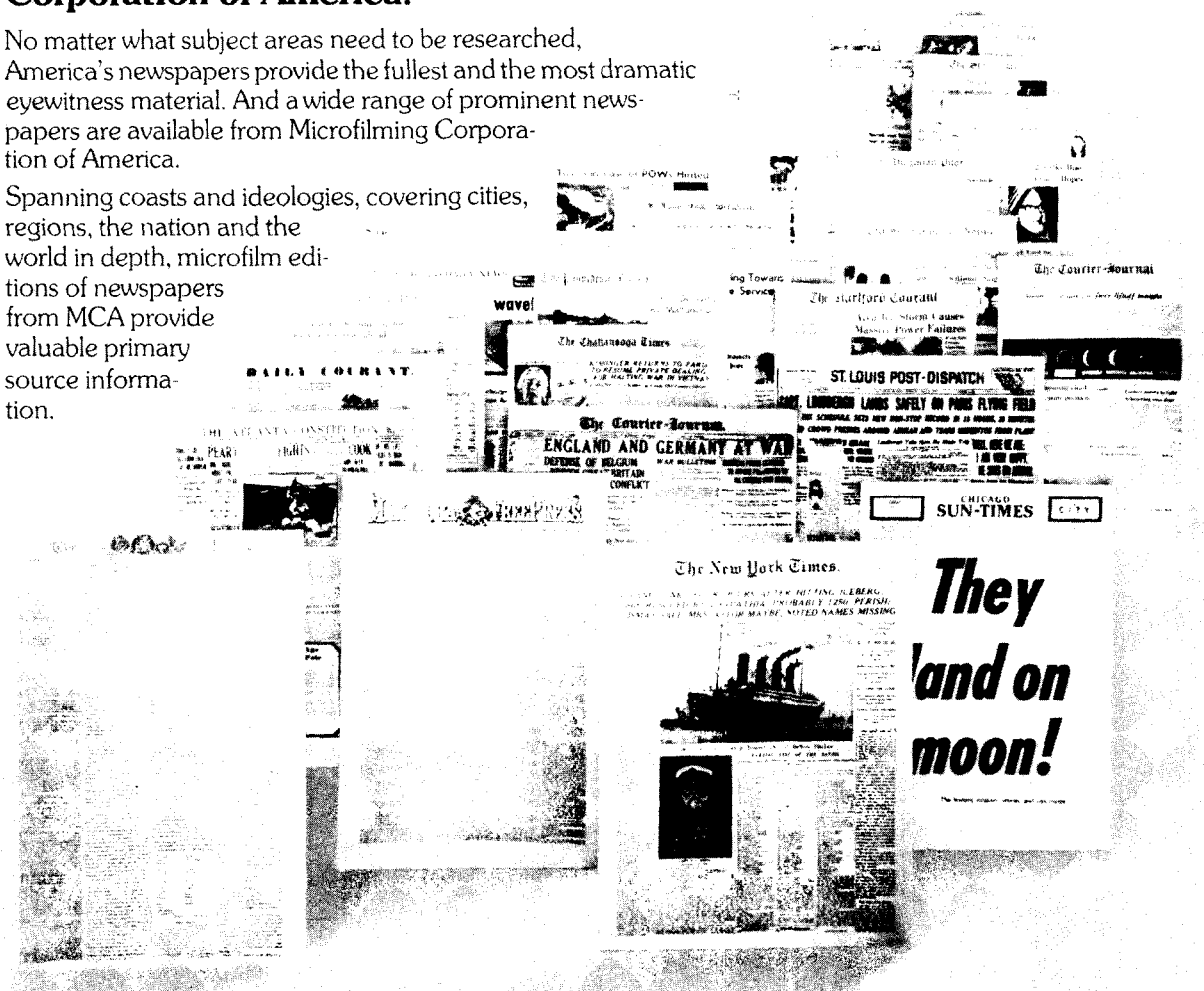
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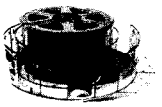
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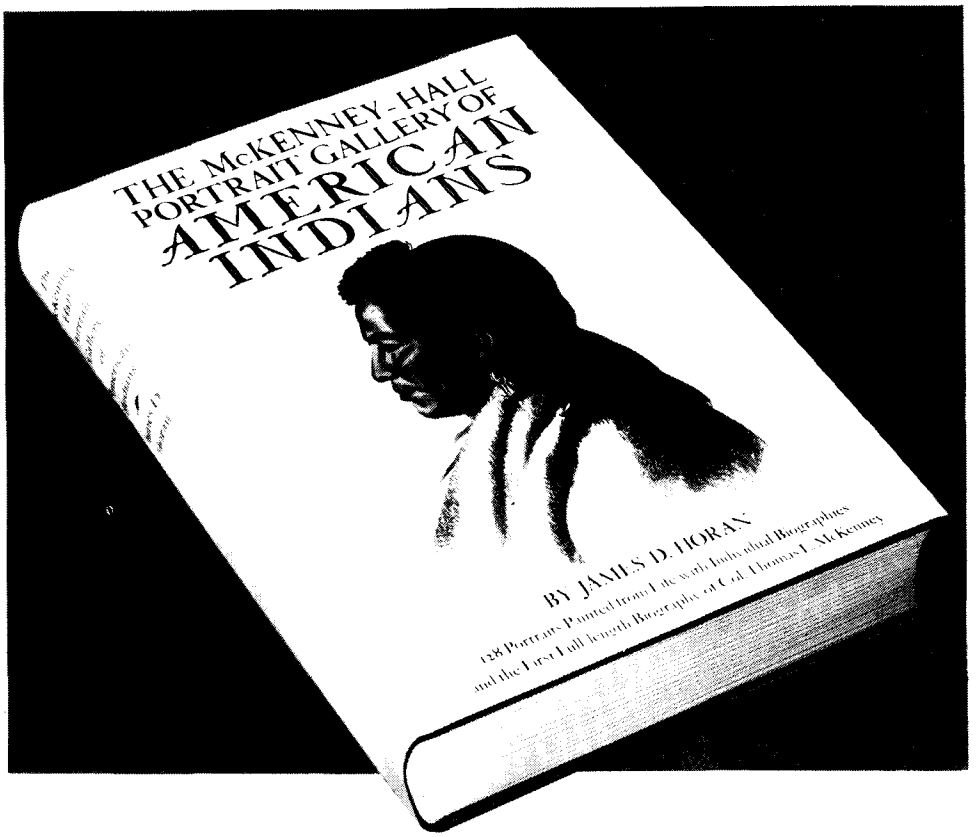
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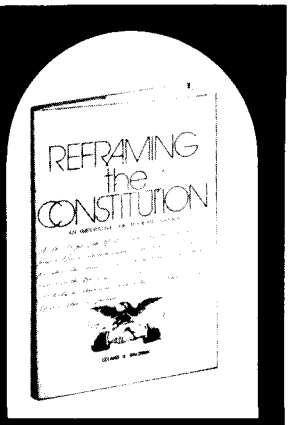
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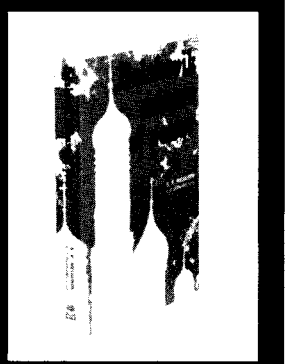
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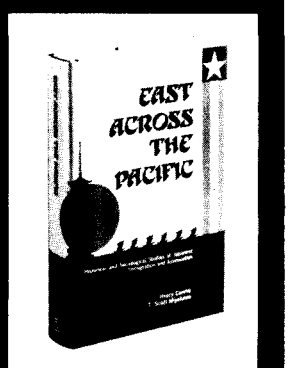
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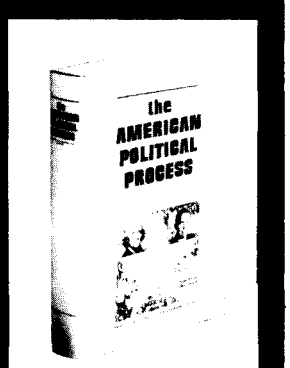
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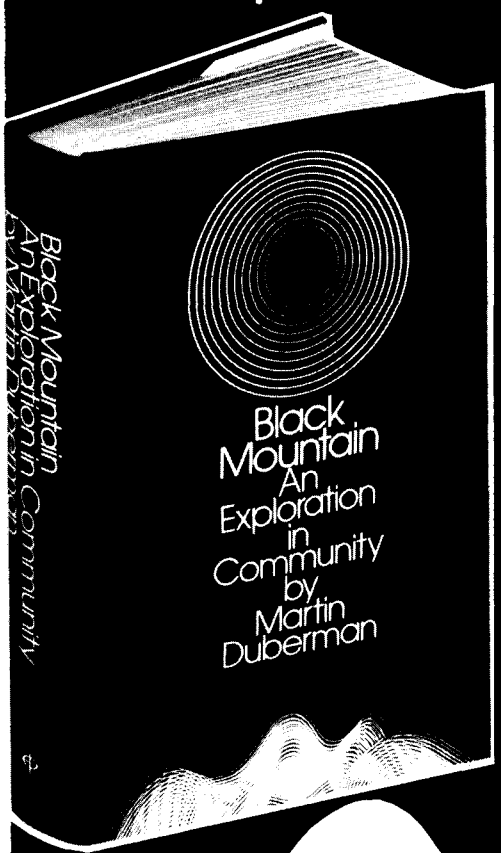


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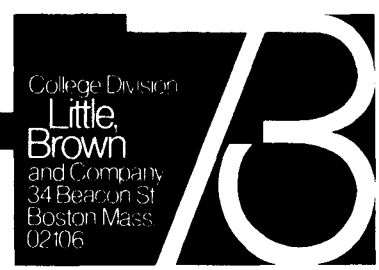
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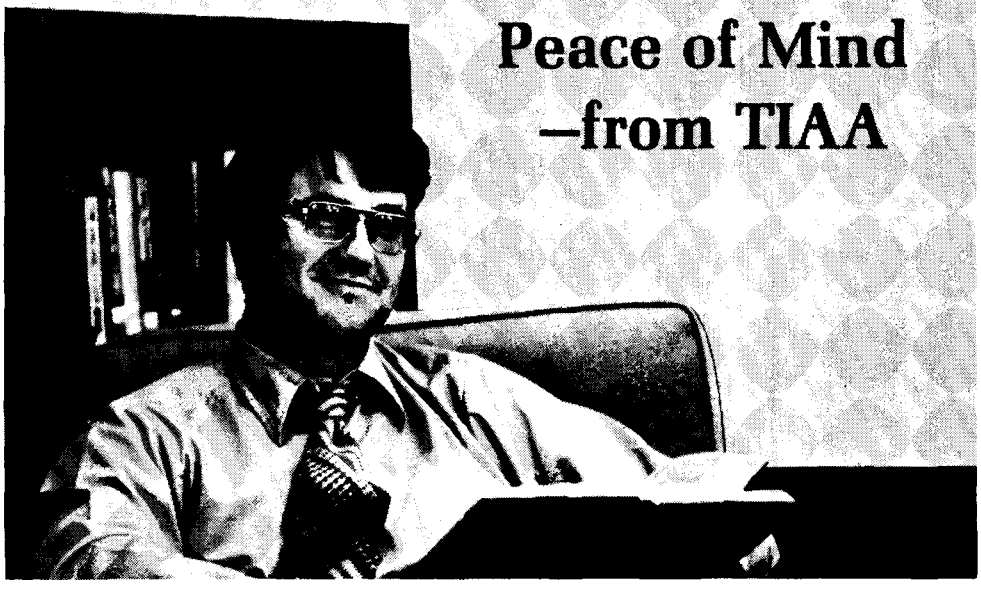
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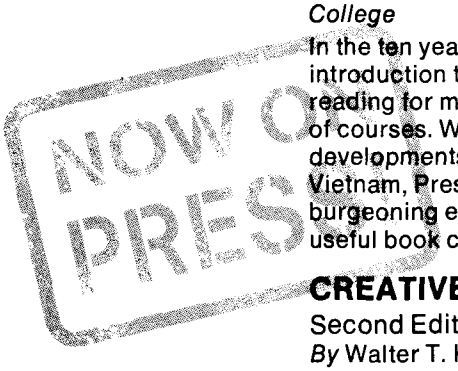
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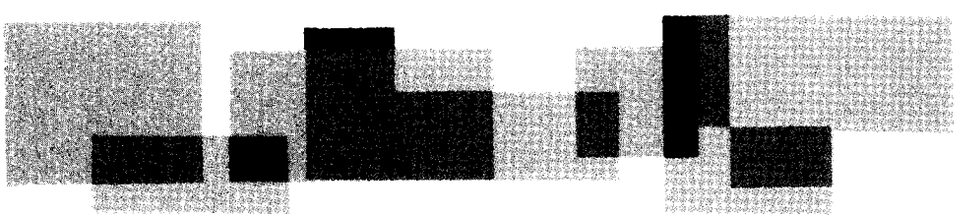
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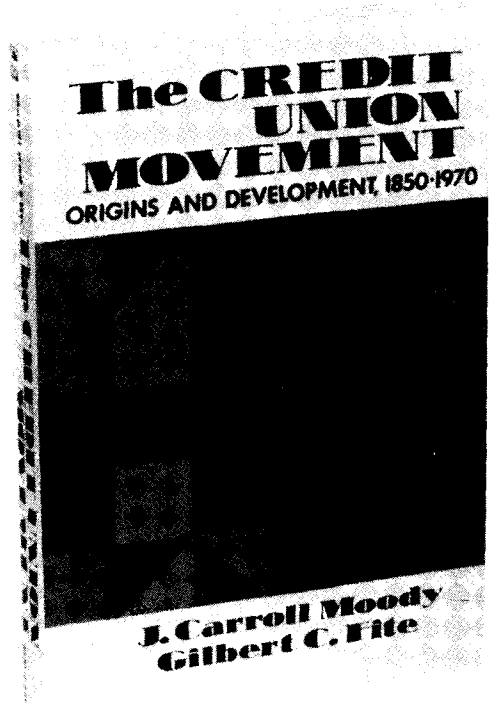
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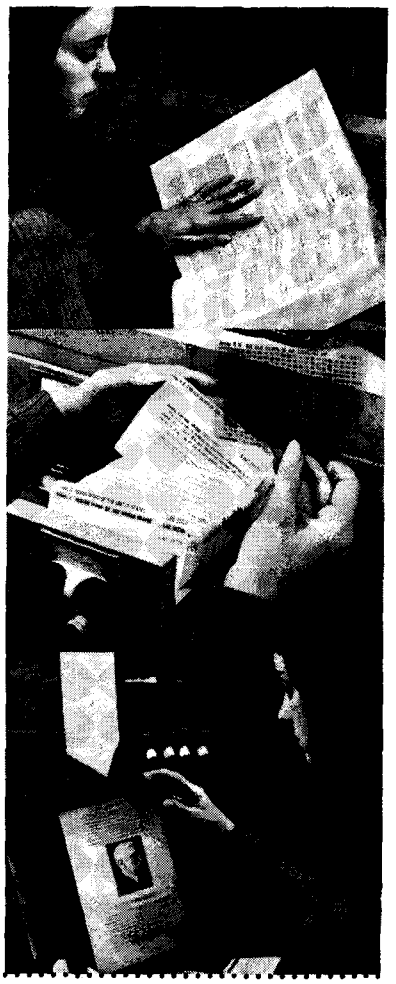
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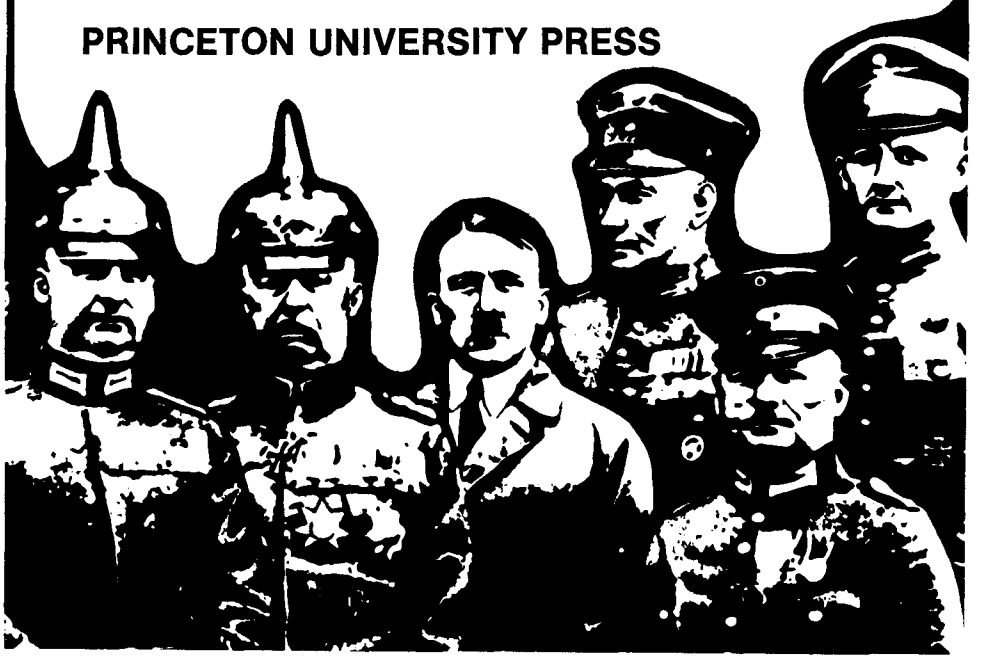
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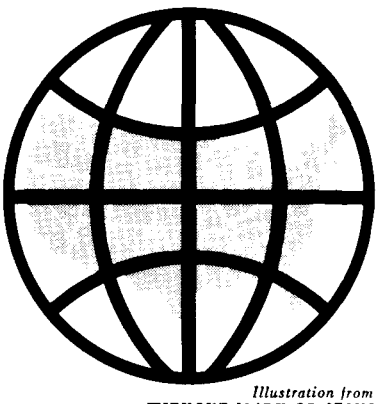


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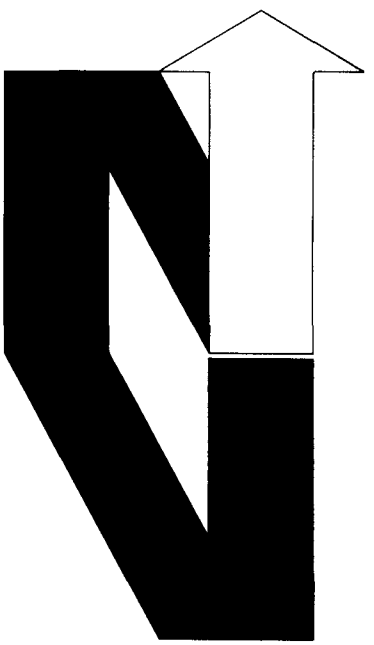
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